

Alternate Routes


A Journal of Critical Social Research



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The editorial emphasis of the journal is on the publication of critical and provocative analyses of theoretical and substantive issues. We welcome papers on a broad range of topics and encourage submissions which advance or challenge theoretical questions and contemporary issues. We also welcome commentaries and reviews of recent publications, works in progress and personal perspectives.

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Work In Progress

Deep History: Using Archaeology and Historical Ecology to Promote Marine Conservation

Todd J. Braje, Jon M. Erlandson, Douglas J.

Kennett, Torben C. Rick, Jenna E. Peterson¹

If our population doubles to 12 billion and our coastal population triples in this century, it's not going to be enough to protect the oceans. We're going to have to manage and use them wisely which means understanding them far better than we do today (Helvarg, 2001:10).

A fundamental aspect of ecosystem restoration is learning how to rediscover the past and bring it forward into the present – to determine what needs to be restored, why it was lost, and how best to make it live again (Egan and Howell, 2001:1)

Abstract

Given the speed at which marine ecosystems are being degraded, it is increasingly important that we draw on our knowledge of ancient practices of both marine exploitation and management. Access to archaeological shell middens, containing evidence of past subsistence patterns and the long history of human interaction with marine ecosystems, positions archaeologists to contribute important insights into successful management practices and the costs of mismanagement or overexploitation at great temporal depth. These deep historical perspectives are crucial to

1. Todd J. Braje, Jon M. Erlandson, Douglas J. Kennett, Jenna E. Peterson from the Department of Anthropology, University of Oregon. Torben C. Rick from the Department of Anthropology, Southern Methodist University.

understanding the past, present, and future of marine environments. We describe on-going work to develop deep historical data sets against which to measure the health of our marine ecosystems and to develop protocols for future conservation efforts.

Introduction

The oceans, comprising 71 percent of the earth's surface, are the cradle of life – providing food, work, and play for billions of people. Yet, our burgeoning population and heavy reliance on the ocean's resources has created a crisis. Overfishing, coastal development, pollution, and coral bleaching have severely degraded marine ecosystems (Pew Oceans Commission, 2003). An ecological baseline is an essential reference point for ecologists, resource managers, and environmentalists. Such baselines measure an ecosystem's health, provide information against which to evaluate change, and help assess the elusive 'natural' state (Jackson et al., 2001). Though there is no "pristine" environment, our baselines should reflect environmental states before the devastating impacts of human commercial and industrial impacts. By knowing the baseline for a degraded ecosystem, we can work to restore it. But if this baseline shifted before we had the chance to evaluate it, then we end up accepting a degraded state as normal or improved (Pauly et al., 1998). Historical ecological approaches can help to elucidate solutions to this crisis.

Why Historical Ecology?

The term 'historical ecology' was probably first coined by Deevey at the University of Florida in the early 1970s and popularized in 1994 by Crumley's edited volume *Historical Ecology: Cultural Knowledge and Changing Landscapes*. Crumley (1994:6) defined historical ecology as "...the study of past ecosystems by charting the change in landscapes over time."

Ecologists study the relationships between organisms and the physical environment, but they often rely on records that span just a few decades. They recognize that the state of modern ecosystems is a result of long-term organism-environment interactions, but rely on data gathered during historic times. No environment, then, is pristine since they are constantly in flux, the result of long, dialectical relationships. Historical ecology differs from traditional ecology, in that, it acknowledges

the importance of human-environment interactions and reads the environment as an outcome of these.

Evidence of "the ongoing dialectical relations between human acts and acts of nature" (Crumley, 1994:9) is found in the landscape in the form of archaeological sites, pollen records, tree ring records, and etc. Historical ecologists use these data sets in combination with ecological, fisheries, and historical data to study past ecosystems and landscapes (see Kirch, 1997; Kirch et al., 1997; Redman et al., 2004). By utilizing a variety of temporal and spatial scales to understand human use of the land and sea and by integrating environmental and cultural data sets, we can develop more effective conservation, management, and environmental policies for the future.

A History of Exploitation

Between about 400 and 150 years ago, Euro-American explorers set in motion a "massive biological reorganization" of our continent's terrestrial and marine ecosystems (Helvarg, 2001:10). These explorers and settlers caused catastrophic wildlife extinctions and deforestation. At the same time, marine ecosystems were severely altered, with the commercial hunting of sea otters, fishes, pinnipeds, cetaceans, and sea birds (see Bartholomew, 1967; Scammon, 1968) by Russians, Americans, and the English. Sea otters, for example, once numbered up to one million in Pacific Coastal waters from Russia to Baja (Helvarg, 2001:218; Ogden, 1941). Sea otters in California were thought to be eradicated by eighteenth and nineteenth-century fur trappers until 1939 when a remnant population was found along the Big Sur coast. Their subsequent protection, recovery, and geographic expansion in California coastal waters has generated considerable controversy and debate between commercial fishermen, environmentalists, and resource managers. Sea otters eat up to 25% of their body weight daily and pose fierce competition with fishermen for abalones, octopus, crab, sea urchin, and shellfish (VanBlaricom and Estes, 1988).

Recognizing the devastation from early, commercial fisheries, scientists recorded the biological composition of our terrestrial and marine environments, studying and recording species populations after they had already been corrupted or destroyed. It is this information that has been used as a baseline to evaluate the health of our marine ecosystems. Such a shallow temporal scale, spanning less than a century, makes it difficult

to imagine the 'natural' state. Ecologists, resource managers, and visitors often evaluate the health of marine ecosystems, unaware of how they used to look before the devastating effects of historical overfishing, coastal development, and environmental degradation. An outline for the "remediation and restoration" of marine ecosystems will remain invisible without a deep historical perspective, provided by paleoecological, archaeological, and historical data (Jackson et al., 2001:636). If we are willing to act on the basis of this historical data, and adjust our baselines to a point before the devastating impacts of historical overfishing, we can begin to restore the oceans to a more 'natural' state.

Historical Ecology and Interdisciplinary Solutions

The reexamination of our notions of "pristine" marine ecosystems and the "shifting baselines" on which fisheries management has been based is due, in part, to the work of archaeologists who have shown that humans have exploited a variety of marine environments, built watercraft, and colonized islands for much longer than previously believed (Erlandson, 2001). Archaeological evidence has clearly demonstrated, for example, that marine hunting, fishing, and foraging began on the Channel Islands at least 12,000 years ago (Erlandson et al., 1996; Rick et al., 2001). Widespread, highly productive, and species-rich kelp forests played a key role in the development of maritime peoples along the Pacific Coast of North America supporting some of the most complex and populous hunter-gatherer cultures ever known. Kelp forests continue to be an extremely important economic, recreational, and aesthetic resource for California's coastal communities, providing three dimensional gallery habitats that support a complex web of marine productivity and species diversity.

Ecological study of California kelp forests has shown that a variety of factors influence their extent, structure, and health (see Dayton, 1985; Dayton and Tegner, 1984; Steneck et al., 2002). Aside from physical factors (El Nino/La Nina cycles, storm intensity, etc.), several animals play important roles in the ecology of California kelp forests. These include sea otters, sheephead, sea urchins, lobster, and several other economically important species (abalones, rockfish, etc.) that depend heavily on the productivity of kelp beds. Beginning in the late 1700s, European and American commercial interests severely disrupted California coastal ecosystems and heavily impacted many marine species. Sea otters, sev-

eral pinnipeds, and cetaceans were hunted to local extinction, for instance, and sea urchins, abalones, lobster, sheephead, and other species were heavily overfished. This commercial overexploitation has altered key ecological relationships in California kelp forests and other marine communities and has created tensions between conservation biologists, the fishing industry, and resource managers. Collaborative, interdisciplinary efforts are the key to mediating this debate and to understanding the long-term relationships between humans and kelp forest communities. However, we need detailed case studies to develop effective management protocols and to guide us along the way.

Case Study: San Miguel Island, California

For the last 12,000 years, the Northern Channel Islands and the Santa Barbara Channel area have been home to the Chumash and their ancestors, some of the most complex maritime hunter-gatherers in the world (see Arnold, 1987; 2000; Erlandson et al., 1996; Erlandson and Rick, 2002; Kennett, 2005; Moss and Erlandson, 1995). Unfortunately, most Chumash sites along the mainland coast have been devastated by development, bioturbation, agriculture, looting, historic construction, and other processes. These disturbances inhibit our ability to reconstruct past environments, interpret ancient lifeways, and understand human impacts on ancient ecosystems. The Channel Islands have been largely unaffected by development, plowing, and burrowing animals. Hundreds of archaeological sites – with well preserved stratigraphy, faunal remains, and artifacts – on the islands have remained largely intact.

Together, the Northern Channel Islands of Santa Cruz, Santa Rosa, San Miguel, and Anacapa constitute most of Channel Islands National Park (see Figure 1). Despite over a century of archaeological explorations, just a small percentage of archaeological sites within the park have been excavated or dated. Because of its smaller size (approximately 37 km²), San Miguel Island offers a unique geographic advantage over larger islands. So far, researchers have been able to date over 11% of the island's 611 recorded sites, allowing an unprecedented resolution of human settlement, subsistence, technology, demography, and ecology (see Erlandson et al., 2004, 2005; Kennett, 2005).

These archaeological sites offer an impeccable record of high-resolution data, including the well preserved remains of a variety of marine mammals, fish, shellfish, and sea birds, as well as land animals (island

fox, dogs, spotted skunk, etc.). The long continuous record and pristine nature of Channel Island sites is unmatched in California and in virtually any coastal region in the world.

Dayton and Tegner (1984:471) hypothesized that Native Americans played an important role in kelp forest ecology along the California Coast. They proposed that Native sea otter hunting released shellfish populations from predation, increasing productivity of important shellfish fisheries for abalones, sea urchins, mussels, etc. Preliminary support for this idea has been found on San Miguel Island, where Erlandson et al. (2004; 2005) have documented Native American hunting of sea otters from at least 9500 years ago to early historic times. This hunting appears to have helped maintain productive shellfish and fish populations throughout the Holocene, as evidenced by hundreds of large middens containing enormous quantities of abalones and other large shellfish not normally found in coastal waters where otters are abundant. As Native populations grew over the millennia, marine fishing intensified (Kennett, 2005; Rick, 2004). By about 3000 to 4000 years ago, preliminary evidence suggests that heavy fishing may have impacted some local populations of sheephead, which also help control urchin populations in island waters. We are now studying several San Miguel middens dated to the last 3500 years, where some strata are dominated by sea urchin tests – possible evidence that Native hunting and fishing helped create localized and short-lived urchin barrens (Erlandson et al., 2005). In contrast to the devastation of the historic Euro-American era, however, Native peoples appear to have harvested the same species of marine mammals, fish, and shellfish relatively continuously for the past 10,000 years (Erlandson et al., 2004; Rick and Erlandson, 2003). By documenting the technological and behavioral adaptations of the Chumash and their ancestors over the millennia, we hope to learn (1) how they affected marine ecosystems of the Channel Islands, (2) what adjustments they made to sustain their large populations in a fragile island environment, and (3) how modern resource managers can more effectively conserve and restore the natural and cultural resources of America's national parks, manage commercial fisheries, and preserve the quantity and quality of our oceans' resources.

From Theory to the Field

Most of the archaeological work on San Miguel Island has been focused on the north coast, where a 10,000 year sequence of archaeolog-

ical and ecological data has been identified (Rick and Erlandson, 2003). Our work extends these historical ecology studies to the poorly known south coast of San Miguel, where preliminary work in 2002-03 documented a series of shell middens dating between about 9000 and 100 years ago (Braje et al., 2004, 2005). We are employing several methodological approaches to help conserve these cultural data sets and to study the historical ecology of San Miguel Island:

1. Systematic archaeological survey of San Miguel's south coast, where we recently identified numerous previously undocumented sites eroding from gully systems.

2. Intensive radiocarbon (^{14}C) dating of south coast sites to reconstruct settlement and subsistence patterns and identify threatened sites that span the Holocene for limited archaeological investigation.

3. Surface collection, mapping, excavation, and analysis of threatened sites to reconstruct local marine and terrestrial environments through time, identify changes in human technology, demography, and subsistence over the last 9,000 – 10,000 years, and document human impacts on local ecosystems.

4. Oxygen isotope analysis of marine shells, paleoecological records of sea surface temperature, kelp forest extent, marine productivity, and sea level change to account for environmental fluctuations.

5. Detailed analysis of faunal constituents and measurement of relative sizes to elucidate changes in prey species and size through the Holocene.

In documenting a trans-Holocene ecological record of nearshore marine ecosystems on San Miguel Island, we are exploring some of the ecological relationships first proposed by Dayton and Tegner (1984) 20 years ago. In the process, we are collecting a variety of ecological and archaeological data that will help archaeologists, marine ecologists, and resource managers better understand the nature of intertidal, kelp forest, and other nearshore ecosystems prior to European contact.

The nature of this picture is complicated by environmental fluctuations that effect marine and terrestrial ecosystems outside the domain of human agency. To manage this complex picture we will use oxygen isotope studies to help differentiate climatic from human-driven marine and terrestrial changes, which are not easy to distinguish in midden deposits. In addition, Kennett and Kennett (2000) have developed a high-resolu-

tion sea surface temperature curve for the Santa Barbara Channel region that can help identify changes in kelp forest and intertidal species composition due to sea temperature oscillations.

Without doubt, the Chumash had an effect on San Miguel's marine and terrestrial environments. As their populations increased during the Holocene, their technologies became more sophisticated, and their subsistence practices intensified, they altered the environment in significant ways. But, when compared to the devastation of historical practices, they may have employed relatively sustainable and low-impact strategies. If we can better understand their impacts and possible conservation practices, we may be able to better understand management practices today (Erlandson et al., 2004, 2005; Rick and Erlandson, 2003).

Conclusions

Millions of people around the world rely on the ocean's resources for sustenance. The crisis of the oceans and our marine fisheries calls into question how long these resources will last in the face of growing global populations and continuing environmental degradation. The state of modern ecosystems is the result of complex and continuous interactions between organisms and humans that have deep historical roots. Applying historical perspectives and the interdisciplinary work of ecologists, biologists, historians, archaeologists, and other scientists to specific case studies, we can identify the "shifting baselines" we need to solve this crisis. Archaeologists can play a key role in reconstructing past ecosystems and understanding the more sustainable practices of some past human societies. By studying past human impacts we can gain a better understanding of what the future might hold and develop more effective protocols for present conservation efforts.

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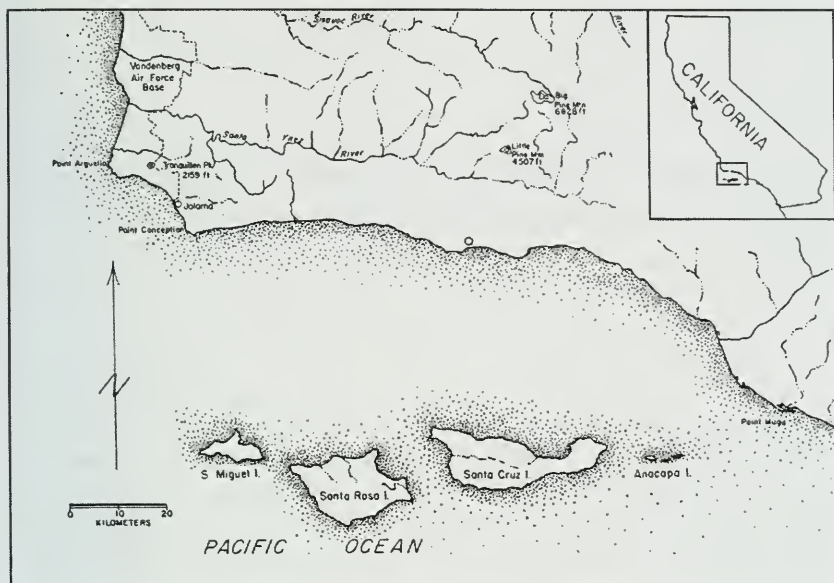


Figure 1. Location of San Miguel Island and the Santa Barbara Channel area.

Articles

The Hidden Curriculum in Schools: Implications for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Youth¹

Gerald Walton¹

Since the inception of public schools, curriculum has been a source of ongoing debate and disagreement. Educational bureaucrats, school board administrators, principals, vice principals, teachers, parents, community organizations, and even students weigh in on discussions about what students should learn in class, how learning is best facilitated, and how to measure and evaluate such learning. Textbooks, teaching practice, projects, homework, examinations, report cards, and the like, are the purview of the formal curriculum. However, students learn in ways that lie beyond the boundaries of the formal curriculum through what is known as the *hidden curriculum* (Jackson, 1968).

The hidden curriculum as a theoretical construct is conceptually problematic. As does the "formal" curriculum, the hidden curriculum defies definitional consensus. Nevertheless, the hidden curriculum will refer here to student learning that takes place within the perimeter of a school that is not recorded or reflected within the official curriculum.

Theorists are not unanimous about the effects of the hidden curriculum on students and on teaching practice. The phrase "the hidden curriculum" explicates its defining characteristic, namely, that it is hidden. Unlike the official curriculum, the hidden curriculum does not make reference to tangible, constituent materials and outcomes measurable through standardized procedures or established protocols. By comparison, the hidden curriculum is a concept that seems ambiguous. Some

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curricular theorists, such as Lakowski (1988) even deny its existence as a definably empirical phenomenon. Unlike Lakowski, I argue that the hidden curriculum becomes evident when seen through a critical lens, specifically one that explores the nature of power and privilege in education and harmful implications for disadvantaged students.

Informally, students learn about values and norms of their particular school culture through peer socialization and interactions with school authorities. Such learning is as important as the formal curriculum (MacDonald, 1988). The socialization of students to gender roles, work ethics, and social attitudes towards others, for example, are facets of the hidden curriculum (Henson, 1995). For educational theorist Peter McLaren (2003), curriculum represents not only programs of study, but also "the introduction to a particular form of life; [which] serves in part to prepare students for dominant and subordinate positions in the existing capitalist society" (p. 211 – 12). Curriculum as a cultural mechanism is thus hegemonic in how it serves dominant interests not through sheer repression of the underprivileged, but through social practices that are normalized over time and mask the ways in which the disadvantaged participate in their own oppression.

The hidden curriculum is thus a mechanism by which social and cultural norms are replicated and regulated. For students who are marginalized through constructs of identity such as race, ethnicity, religion, gender, class, physical and mental ability, and sexuality, the effects of the hidden curriculum can render their school lives particularly challenging to negotiate and even to survive. In this paper, I focus on the hidden curriculum as a regulator of gender and sexual orientation in schools. Gender schemas and the concomitant assumption of heterosexuality, for instance, are enforced and reinforced, thus excluding and marginalizing lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) students. Gender and sexuality are thus constructs supported by hegemony and ideology. LGBTQ students transgress dominant expectations of gender and sexuality that are especially salient in schools. My examination of the hidden curriculum as a concept explores implications for LGBTQ students and their families and how exposure of the hidden curriculum can advance social justice in schools particularly in the areas of gender and sexuality diversity.

Identification and Brief History of the Hidden Curriculum

Throughout the last several decades, theorists concerned with the hidden curriculum have contributed a diversity of perspectives on the notion of unofficial learning. One such theorist was Philip Jackson. When he coined the term in 1968 (p. 33), he argued that schools are responsible for two curricula, one "official" and the other "hidden." The official curriculum, according to Jackson, places academic demands upon students while the hidden curriculum concerns the unwritten institutional demands for conformity. Jackson was not the first to theorize about the ways in which educational experiences of students reflect learning that is not planned through the administration of formal curricula. In 1918, for instance, Franklin Bobbitt proposed that students should be groomed to assume the affairs of adulthood through their educational experiences (Jackson, 1998). In Bobbitt's view, such educational experiences include those that take place out-of-school and beyond classroom lessons. His conception of the hidden curriculum implies that assorted modes of learning take place within the sphere of curriculum, including – as Jackson (1998) puts it – "in school / out of school, [and] directed / undirected" experiences (p. 8).

Similarly, John Dewey (1916) included learning experiences that are achieved in ways additional to standard school subjects. An exclusive focus on academic skills, he insisted, is narrow (p. 417). "The . . . danger," he argued, "[is] that the material of formal instruction will be merely the subject matter of the schools, isolated from the subject matter of life-experience" (p. 10).

Both Bobbitt and Dewey were educational reformists who proposed that previously-established educational emphasis on rote learning and object lessons did not reflect the complexities and needs of modern life (Kliebard, 1975). Even though early curricular theorists did not articulate out-of-school / undirected learning as "hidden," they share with Jackson a concern for the need to expand the notion of student learning beyond formalized curricula. Such a perspective, grounded in humanism, calls attention to – in Jackson's (1998) words – a "curriculum of life" (p. 8).

To include out-of-school experiences within the domain of education seems to place greater responsibility to instill good citizenship and moral character in students on school administration and teachers than on parents. Bobbitt, Dewey, and other curricular theorists of the early 1900s,

advocated educational reforms that addressed the needs of society at that time. Outcomes of such broadly-defined notions of curriculum were intended to remedy the deficiencies of society, to which individual parents usually could not attend. Hence, reformists such as Bobbitt and Dewey cast their focus upon positive outcomes of learning. In their view, the development of students into productive citizens of democratic societies is one such positive outcome. By investing in the educational needs and experiences of students, it was argued that society would ultimately benefit from molding students into capable citizens who would take up the democratically-responsible task of participating in all aspects of society. Similar arguments are currently made in support of 'social responsibility', a widely used phrase among today's educators and administrators.

An educational paradigm that emphasizes social, civil, and ethical concerns and attitudes as important contributions to society, in addition to academic knowledge and skills, has waxed and waned throughout the twentieth century (Cuban, 1990; Lewis, et al., 1995; Battistich, et al., 1999). Paradigmatic shifts aside, it was curriculum theorists of the 1960s who drew attention away from positive aspects of curriculum reform and educational experience and onto negative consequences of school attendance (Jackson, 1968). Evidently, educational institutions were not exempt from the criticism of political activists during a decade rife with civil revolt.

For educational theorists such as Michael Apple (1975), schools reflect and perpetuate dominant societal ideologies "implicitly but effectively" (p. 96) through the hidden curriculum. One consequence is that students tend to become quiescent within school environments which exhibit macro-economic relations analogous to those between employers and workers (Apple, 1996) and which reproduce and reinforce social stratification along lines of gender (Best, 1983), class (Freire, 1968), and racialized category (Anyon, 1988).

The implication of political theorists such as Apple is that the hidden curriculum is comprised of unofficial expectations, unofficial learning outcomes, and / or implicit messages as products of school administrators and teachers. However, students themselves, as well as school officials, contribute to the hidden curriculum. Quiescence to dominant interests is not merely submission, but a complex outcome of power relations that channel particular issues to be addressed and shape the

needs of the relatively powerless (Gaventa, 1980, Lukes, 2005). "Generalized discontent [may be] present," Gaventa observes, "but lies hidden and contained" (p. 252). In the case of schools, the hidden curriculum on gender and sexuality thus has increasingly gained prominence in public discourse fueled by challenge from educational critics such as McLaren (2003), Apple (1996), and Pinar (1995), as well as from students who do not conform to normalized constructs of gender and sexuality.

The notion that both students and educators "hide" an unofficial curriculum raises a flashpoint of debate, namely, whether the hidden curriculum is motivated by intent. In the next section, I explore this issue and then turn attention to research on sexuality in schools as a case in point.

The Issue of Intent

Portelli (1993) argues that, "something does not necessarily need to be hidden intentionally in order to be a hidden curriculum" (p. 349). Conversely, Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (1991) lists synonyms for the word, "hidden" such as "concealed," "unexplained," and "undisclosed." These are all action words. To conceal, to not explain, or to not disclose suggests that choices are made or not made. It is significant that these terms *imply* intent, unlike closely related words such as "unknown," "unspecified," and "unacknowledged." The negative effects of schooling discussed by Apple (1975) and Pinar (1995), among others, are not necessarily the result of unfortunate circumstances, accidents, unforeseen complications of learning environments, or lack of awareness among teachers and administrators.

Such factors can and do result in unpleasant outcomes for students. Sometimes, teachers ignore their students and deny their requests; they may even scold a student, usually when she or he has violated the expectations of appropriate classroom behaviour rather than when she or he has failed to demonstrate certain academic skills (Jackson, 1968). Sometimes students may feel disappointed because of a failing grade or anxious or angry for having to patiently wait their turn. Such everyday experiences in the lives of students might be painful, tedious, or difficult to tolerate but to describe them as harmful may be overstating the matter, at least in most situations.

Harm, as I mean it, refers to injury or damage to a student's self-concept, pride, or self-esteem, the effects of which can be substantial and long-term. The very qualifiers "substantial" and "long-term" are inter-

pretive and thus provide fodder for quibbles. Rather than spark a semantic debate about those terms, I instead conceptualize the term "harm" in contrast to more common circumstances of "pain." Whereas pain can result from particular incidents, harm suggests injury sustained by some students as an effect of social and political relations of a school culture and organization. The former suggests the idiosyncratic; the latter suggests the systemic. Both are linked to relations of power.

Describing harm as I have done assists in differentiating systemic subjugation from everyday incidents that may inspire anger, frustration, sadness, or embarrassment for a student. However, such a description does not shed light on a more fundamental controversy about the hidden curriculum, namely, whether its effects – both positive and negative – are the outcome of intentional decisions of, and actions taken by, school administrators and teachers. A central problem with the question, "Are the effects of the hidden curriculum intentional?" is the very asking of it. Its mere articulation is potentially inflammatory to educators who love to teach and who strive to enable their young charges to think critically, communicate effectively, and adopt practices of good citizenship.²

Apart from potentially defensive reactions from some teachers and school administrators, harm, as I have described above, can and does result from school experiences. MacDonald and Colberg MacDonald (1988) provide commentary on the hidden curriculum that hints at potential and intentional harm of students. In their view, the hidden curriculum reflects the dominant value orientation evident in the "rules and policies, the management techniques in classrooms, and the building of attitudes through the activities and relationships of the school" (p. 483).

Similarly, Apple (1979) describes the hidden curriculum as, "the tacit teaching to students of norms, values, and dispositions that goes on simply by their living in and coping with the institutional expectations and routines of schools" (p. 14). The hidden curriculum is a venue through which relations of power are exercised. The phrase "tacit teaching" is stronger language than the comparatively benign "undirected" or "out-of-school" experiences to which Bobbitt and Dewey focused their attention. If Apple's description indicates a somewhat insidious or pernicious side of education, Pinar (1995) explicates the point in his claim that, "the hidden curriculum is the ideological and subliminal message presented within the overt curriculum . . ." (p. 27). Pinar does not mince words; his argument that ideology and subliminal messages are "presented" implies

that particular sorts of messages are covertly but intentionally disseminated to students. To conceptualize power as one-directional, however, considers neither how discourse shapes the ways in which some issues and participants are brought into decision-making processes while others are not; nor how those outside of the decision-making process acquiesce to oppression (Gaventa, 1980; Lukes, 2005).

Power, thus, is multi-dimensional. In addition and specific to schools, positing the actions taken by school administrators and teachers through power as either intentional or unintentional sets up a false dichotomy. Feasibly, the dissemination of certain messages may be intended but the consequences of those messages may be unintended. Empirical verification of intentions is one of the thorny controversies of the hidden curriculum. Lakowski (1988) argues that intentions cannot be reliably observed; they can only be attributed. The problem, as Lakowski sees it, is that connecting intentions correctly with particular behaviours is inferential rather than observable.

Lakowski seems to address only methodological issues, in which case, she may be correct in her discussion about the problematic nature of intentions that she believes underlie the hidden curriculum. However, to focus on the hidden curriculum only as methodologically confused is to ignore the ways in which informal learning is also conceptual in addition to empirical. Gordon (1988) provides a rebuttal to Lakowski's dismissal of the hidden curriculum by arguing that, "she fails to prove her case that intentions are problematic, but at best shows that identifying them is difficult" (p. 467). In spite of the contributions to the notion of the hidden curriculum provided by Lakowski (1988) and Gordon (1988), focus on the intended / unintended dichotomy may be a red herring. Theoretical discussions and conceptual clarifications are academically interesting and may contribute to understandings of the development of school culture. However, as far as school practice is concerned, such discussions may be politically toothless if one's goal is to foster social justice in educational settings.

Focusing on the effects of the hidden curriculum and contextualizing them within a context of power relations, rather than on its conceptual distinctions, may illuminate preventions and remediations of the harm that some students, such as LGBTQ ones, incur within school environments.

Sexuality Education in Schools

Sex education reflects a history since the nineteenth century that is rife with controversy, rancor, and political extremes (Rury, 1992).³ In its formal curricular incarnation, sex education tends to focus on the mechanics of sex and related health issues (Haffner, 1992; Epstein and Johnson, 1994). My specific interest is not on what is actually taught but rather on what is typically left out of sex education curricula. Highlighting issues that are usually excluded from curriculum brings into focus the ways in which assumptions, stereotypes, and prejudices tend to be reflected covertly in formal sex education curricula (Sapon-Shevin and Goodman, 1992). It is significant that such teaching is typically labeled as "sex education" rather than as "sexuality education." Whereas the former evokes usual notions about heterosexual sexuality and invalidates homosexuality through silence or denigration, the latter implies acknowledgement of the plurality of human sexuality.

Sexuality is a way of being in the world, an identity and positionality rather than merely a series of socially acceptable versus unacceptable acts. Whether or not such plurality is discussed openly in the context of 'sex education' classes is doubtful in most classes (Shurberg Klein, 1992). Current discourse on 'diversity' thus is limited to that which is deemed the least politically volatile, thereby excluding gender and sexual orientation diversity. A focus on topics that are left out of sex education curricula result from the hidden curriculum, in which case the "intentions" debate (discussed earlier) would again come to the fore.

The issue of teaching and learning about sexuality has recently inspired some rather contentious debates in educational practice. Educational critics such as McKay (1998) and Sears (1992) each advocate broadening classroom discussion to sexuality as diverse experiences that reflect complex social and health issues. McKay and Sears also encourage sex educators to recognize their audience as heterogeneous regarding gender and sexuality.

For several decades, feminist researchers have described the ways in which girls and boys tend to be socialized to heterosexuality through the promotion of usual gender scripts of femininity for girls and masculinity for boys (Adams, 1997). Socialization experiences in schools tend to perpetuate these gendered scripts (McKay, 1998; Sapon-Shevin and Goodman, 1992). Such scripts have strong influence upon one's gender identity and expression (Devor, 1989), interpersonal relationships

including spouse and family (VanEvery, 1996), and choices concerning work and career (Adams, 1997).

Similarly, the work of a minority of educators, including some feminists, highlights the ways in which heterosexuality is covertly (Epstein and Johnson, 1994; Redman, 1994) and overtly (McKay, 1998) normalized and regulated in society, including schools. Heterosexism refers to the presumption of heterosexuality that is encoded in language, in daily interactions among people, and in institutional policies and practices (Epstein and Johnson, 1994). In this sense, heterosexuality is unambiguous, ubiquitous, and *appears* as a “natural” and “normal” state. The very categories of “natural” and “normal” are constituted from political, social, and historical conditions and reinforced through social and institutional norms. Whereas heterosexism tends to be silent, unmarked and presumed, homophobia, according to Epstein and Johnson, refers to, “active and explicit attacks on lesbians and gays, often fuelled by unacknowledged motives and / or panic” (p. 197).⁴ Pervasive attitudes that gays and lesbians should keep their sexuality and sexual orientation identity a private matter and away from public visibility arise from heterosexist assumptions and homophobic attitudes (Adams, 1997; Epstein and Johnson, 1994). The legalization of same-sex marriage in Canada in 2005 after many years of legislative struggle was a major step towards acquiring legal equality of lesbians and gays with the heterosexual majority. However, the degree to which such measures enhance social equality remains to be seen.

Legal measures that legitimize gay or lesbian relationships are recent and the ripples are yet to be felt in all realms of Canadian society. Meanwhile, schools remain sites of salient heteronormativity. It is within schools that heterosexual pairings are encouraged and validated, and where discussion about sexuality tends to be limited to a heterosexual context of sexual mechanics and sexuality transmitted diseases. Schools are also venues where gay and lesbian couples are covertly excluded from school social functions such as dances and where curricular resources for LGBTQ students, and those interested in LGBT-related issues, are usually nonexistent (Epstein and Johnson, 1994). The implicit “rule” that students should be heterosexual and are to conduct themselves as such in school environments becomes glaringly obvious when some students adopt expressions of gender non-conformity or “come out” as gay, lesbian, or bisexual. Other students tend to harass such non-

conforming students (O'Connor, 1994; Gibson, 1994) while teachers and administrators often marginalize and ignore them (Massachusetts Governor's Commission on Gay and Lesbian Youth, 1994). In any case, it is these students, rather than systemic exclusion, that are typically the focus of what is considered to be the problem and the source of amelioration.

Significantly, it is the very negative reactions to students who do not conform to dominant schemas of gender and sexuality that undermine the pervasive assumption of heterosexuality as "natural" and "normal." The continual bolstering of heterosexuality through a variety of regulatory mechanisms belies its status as natural and normal. Notwithstanding Canada's recent revision of the Marriage Act that specifies "two persons" rather than "one man and one woman," most legal systems of the world reward heterosexual marriage, deny equal rights to gay and lesbians, and even criminalize homosexuality. Powerful also are religious doctrines that condemn and demonize homosexuality, and social conventions that impair the social visibility of gays and lesbians. In short, heterosexuality is an institution (Rich, 1993), though rarely acknowledged as such, which is strengthened by legal, religious, and social privilege.

The educational realm is not exempt from such explicit and implicit social dynamics. It is precisely the *hegemony* of heterosexuality, rather than heterosexuality itself, that is the concern of many social activists including those in education. Organizing human relations along lines of (hetero)sexuality is a significant, though not impervious, force. Such relations are fostered in ways that are often unintended, which clearly indicates the degree to which heteronormativity is enacted in society and in schools. Lack of intent, however, does not curb the consequent harm that some students sustain.

Consider, for example, a teacher's lack of awareness about gay and lesbian history. Lacking such knowledge may result in the unintentional exclusion of gay and lesbian history from discussions about Nazism during World War II. It is rarely mentioned in classroom discussions that gays and lesbians were a group targeted for persecution along with Jews, Gypsies, among others (Plant, 1987). In the arts and humanities, teachers may not be aware that some key writers and artists such as James Baldwin, Cole Porter, Walt Whitman, Michelangelo, Tennessee Williams, Gore Vidal, Virginia Woolf, E.M. Forster, Allen Ginsberg, Gertrude

Stein, Timothy Findlay, and Leonardo de Vinci, were homosexual. Thus, gay and lesbian history, unlike the histories of other targeted groups, has two unique qualities. One is that gay and lesbian history is usually taken to be non-existent, and therefore not "taken" at all. The other is that discussion about gay and lesbian history in classrooms is rife with stigmatization.

Teachers are often afraid of being perceived as, or being out as, gay or lesbian because of potential job loss or harassment (Epstein and Johnson, 1994).⁵ Regardless of such consequences, acquiescence to prevailing norms contributes to social invisibility of gays and lesbians and deters gender and sexual orientation diversity. Cultures in schools reflect larger society. In the absence of gender and sexual orientation diversity, students are left to contend with the hegemony of heterosexuality and dominant scripts of gender. School cultures of heterosexuality, to the exclusion of other positionalities, remain entrenched. In addition, homophobic bullying continues to go unchallenged even as generic safe schools programs and policies proliferate (Walton, 2004).

Within curriculum, even when teachers are aware of gay and lesbian history, as most are in the case of Oscar Wilde, they will tend to avoid and disregard discussion of how sexuality informs their work (McLaren, 1995). Gay and lesbian historical invisibility in education is one facet of a general climate of gay and lesbian invisibility in society. LGBTQ youth, typically alienated from school culture, tend to be doubly marginalized as a result of such curricular blinders.

Perpetrating harm based on unacknowledged assumptions or lack of information is to be expected though by no means excused; all individuals incorporate ways of thinking and acting that are normalized through social norms, values, and expectations. On the other hand, some actions and decisions taken by teachers and school administrators extend privileges to (ostensibly) straight students at the expense of LGBTQ students (Uribe and Harbeck, 1992). For example, it is not uncommon for teachers and / or school administrators to fail to intervene in cases of harassment and bullying of students who are presumed to be, or identify as, gay and lesbian.

It is usual that human sexuality is not represented as diverse and to not address issues related to such diversity. It is commonplace in schools to deny equality of opportunity for visibility, social integration, and access to resources for LGBTQ students. It is frequent that student-led

Gay-Straight Alliances (GSAs) and plays that feature gay or lesbian issues and characters are disallowed.⁶

It is occasional that books that present diversity of family configurations, including those with GLBT members, are prohibited from school classrooms, famously exemplified by the Surrey School District in British Columbia. In 1997, trustees in that district banned from use in classrooms three picture books that feature same-sex parents among other configurations of family, thus denying students with age appropriate educational resources on LGBTQ families. In 2005, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that religious imperatives must not overrule curriculum that reflects diversity of communities and that the Surrey board must "reconsider" their decision (Carter, 2004). In 2005, the Board also cancelled performances of *The Laramie Project*, a play based on the 1998 murder of Matthew Shepard, a gay college student from Laramie Wyoming.

Conservative and religious organizations championed the actions of the Surrey School Board. The opinion that schools are not appropriate venues for discussion about (homo)sexuality is widespread. Many people, some educators included, believe that students, especially those in elementary school, are "innocent" and therefore are unaware of the existence of gays and lesbians much less of homosexuality (Epstein and Johnson, 1994). Documentary films such as *It's Elementary: Talking About Gay Issues In School* (Chasnoff and Cohen, 1996) indicate otherwise. In the film, young children talk about their awareness that some people are "gay." According to the filmmakers, such awareness is in spite of lack of discussion on the topic in the classroom. Most children probably do not (nor should they) have an awareness of specific sexual activities, regardless of whether they are classified as "homo" or "hetero." However, most children have probably heard the words "gay" and "lesbian" from television and print media. In the schoolyard, at home, and in the media, pejorative descriptors are heard routinely, such as "homo," "fag," "dyke," and "queer." Sexuality education resources such as *It's Elementary* specifically address this form of violence in order to facilitate safer school environments for all students.

Other districts have taken measures to address homophobia in schools, particularly in the areas of curriculum and policy. The Toronto District School Board, for instance, implemented the *Triangle Program*, which is designed to meet the social and educational needs of LGBT

youth. It is the only such program in Canada (Toronto District School Board, 2003). The Greater Victoria School District (GVSD, 2005) has recently adopted policy and education on LGBT issues and safety in the district through an advisory committee, which includes representatives from the district and the wider community. At the forefront of advocacy for LGBT friendly schools, the Gay and Lesbian Educators of British Columbia (GALE BC, 2005), provides educational resources for educators, parents, and students.

Policy and curriculum are strategic areas to focus efforts to promote social justice in schools. The *Triangle Program*, too, has key benefits, specifically in creating safer learning environments for LGBT students who otherwise would likely have dropped out of school. However, the contradiction is that these students are separated from the larger Toronto student body and thus, diversity is compromised and the hidden curriculum, at least as it regulates gender and sexual orientation diversity, remains in tact.

The initiatives outlined here are controversial. Whether in curriculum or policy, measures to represent LGBT people in educational contexts inspires bigotry in the guise of "concern." Many conservative parents, educational activists, and religious organizations endorse, for instance, "keeping homosexuality out of schools" for the good of all students. Such activism tends to arise from beliefs in emotional dysfunction, spiritual poverty, and / or mental illness as etiologies of homosexuality (Haldeman, 1991; Herman, 1997), which contrast research that demonstrates otherwise (Gonsiorek, 1991). Furthermore, negative perceptions of homosexuality – even ones in the guise of "science" – are plagued by dogma, negative stereotypes, and bigotry. Nevertheless, many parents, teachers, and school administrators continue to cling to such empirically unfounded beliefs.

It seems paradoxical that, on one hand, LGBTQ students tend to be marginalized and harassed in school, and, on the other hand, gay and lesbian activists have made gains in social and legal equality with heterosexuals. Rates of alienation, depression, and suicidal ideation of LGBTQ students are disproportionate to those of their straight counterparts (Hershberger and D'Augelli, 1995). However, the groundswell of social movements and backlash is fueled by power. In spite of achievements in legal equality of lesbians and gays with straights, homosexuality continues to be stigmatized in many arenas of public life, including schools.

Moreover, a focus on intent is somewhat beside the point and certainly does not contribute to equity and social justice for LGBTQ students. Harm is manifest regardless of intent.

Towards Exposure

One of the problems with the hidden curriculum, as I have pointed out, is the very word "hidden." It provokes debates about whether aspects of informal curricula are intended or not intended. Such debates are useful for illuminating the ways in which some agendas are indeed hidden from overt articulation for particular political reasons but they can also arrest movement beyond discussion. Rather than focusing on whether certain aspects of informal curriculum are deliberately hidden from students, it seems more critical to promote measures to remedy systemic harm of school environments.

Haffner (1992) and Portelli (1993) each advocate exposure of the hidden curriculum. It is difficult to imagine a situation where there are no hidden agendas and no unwritten rules of conduct particularly concerning sexuality and gender roles. Exposure is meant as relative rather than as all-or-nothing legalism. Ironically, anti-gay measures such as banning books that feature gay and lesbian characters and prohibiting GSAs expose previously hidden agendas of perpetuating heteronormativity at the expense of LGBTQ students, those with gay or lesbian family members, and those who ally themselves with gays and lesbians at their schools. Activists who have supported anti-LGBTQ measures in schools have perhaps unwittingly accelerated the work of other activists who promote equity and social justice for all students including those who need or would like access to LGBTQ-positive resources, regardless of the reason.

The very access or denial of resources for LGBTQ students, as well as for their supporters, leads to a more fundamental question, namely, who has the right to determine how children will be educated and by what means? No single group, whether educators, parents, or students, can claim exclusive authority on this issue. Theoretically, all citizens of democratic societies can participate in the functioning of educational institutions, particularly publicly-funded ones. The world of grade school education is thus contested ground indeed. Nevertheless, the availability of such resources in schools does not prevent parents to

inculcate, as they deem appropriate, particular values to their children. Availability also does not “expose” their children to homosexuality, as some parents fear, nor does it prevent parents from teaching particular values and norms to their children. Although members of some parents’ groups accuse gay and lesbian educational activists of promoting such a “hidden” agenda, it is, in fact, heteronormativity that tends to be “hidden” within most school cultures and school policies.

Many parents and educators, especially those with conservative religious beliefs, have lobbied school boards to reform education to reflect the “three Rs” (Battistich et al., 1999). This approach, which emphasizes only academic skills and knowledge, demonstrates a limited understanding of the reality of schools, particularly regarding the hidden curriculum. In spite of romanticized notions, schooling has never been *only* about academics (Battistich et al., 1999). Many such recent educational reformists presume that the three Rs is a traditional and successful approach that has since been buried under agendas of other educational activists.

The moral and political battle over sexuality education – regarding formal and informal curriculum – is not one in which students are mere passive victims of the adult establishment. Many students challenge discriminatory school policies and resist oppressive school cultures. Examples of such student activism against school authority and cultural codes are many. Students in Canada and the United States, for instance, have formed GSAs even when prohibited by their school district from doing so. Some gay and lesbian students have taken same-sex partners to school proms, as Marc Hall did in 2002 after winning a lawsuit against his school board for refusing his request to bring his male partner as his prom date. Students such as Jamie Nabozny (Boland, 1996), Azmi Jubran (Matas, 2002), and David Knight (Malarek, 2002) have each filed lawsuits against teachers, school administrators, and school boards for not providing adequate protections against homophobic harassment and violence.

These students and others have used personal, social, and legal resources to challenge heteronormativity and homophobic violence in schools to make school cultures more inclusive and safer, particularly concerning LGBTQ students and families. These students have contrib-

uted to exposure of the hidden curriculum though they may not describe their actions as doing so.

Resistance among students against gender and sexuality norms that are promoted and regulated in schools through the hidden curriculum need not be overt. Hebdige (1979) describes hegemony not at a constant but rather as a moving equilibrium, a set of relational forces that must be “won, reproduced, sustained” (p. 16). Although he was referring to youth culture in general rather than specifically to LGBTQ students, Hebdige’s conception of hegemony describes well the relational dynamics between school officials and students concerning “hidden” curricula that perpetuate and reinforce unwritten values, norms, and rules of a school to which students are expected to comply.

When students confound heteronormativity and homophobia in schools, they expose particular dimensions of the hidden curriculum. Similarly – and paradoxically – when school authorities and parents attempt to reinforce values and norms of dominant paradigms of gender, sexuality, and family through educational policy and curriculum at the exclusion of some students, they, too, expose the hidden curriculum. Exposing and confronting these dimensions of the hidden curriculum promotes social justice for LGBTQ students and their supporters through policies and cultures of caring, respect, equity, and safety in schools. Indeed, fostering such cultures is ethically necessary and the responsibility of educators and administrators for the benefit of all students.

Endnotes

1. The author would like to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Ontario Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities for generous support of his doctoral research.
2. It is not the case that potentially inflammatory questions should not be asked. Rather, the asking of such questions needs to be done strategically rather than haphazardly.
3. In some ways, the history of sex education reflects similar controversies as other fields of study in schools. Within science, for example, the theory of evolution continues to inspire passionate debates about the origins of material and human existence that are, at times, underscored by religious beliefs if not fervor.
4. I would argue that homophobia is a much more complex phenomena than Epstein and Johnson (1994) indicate. It can be active and explicit but it can

Alternate Routes

also be covert and implicit and therefore more insidious and pervasive than overt attacks.

5. Epstein and Johnson (1994) point out that most gay and lesbian teachers are “paranoid” (p. 224) about being “outed” for fear of losing their jobs. I would add that *all* teachers, not just gay and lesbian ones, have the same concern. (The film, *It's Elementary: Talking About Gay Issues In School* (Chasnoff and Cohen, 1996) explores the ways in which straight teachers are comparatively exempt from such anxieties).

6. GSAs are school-based organizations that promote education on, and provide support for, gay and lesbian students, straight allies, and other students (such as those who are transgender and self-defined as queer).

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The Gramsci-Foucault Nexus and Environmental Sociology

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Abstract

A theoretical engagement with the "Gramsci-Foucault nexus" is useful for bringing together key concepts from environmental realism and environmental constructionism, which is one of the central theoretical tensions of environmental sociology. This theoretical lens is grounded in an essentially critical orientation, but also takes postmodernism seriously. The Gramsci-Foucault nexus provides an overarching theoretical framework that enables us to inhabit environmental sociology's irritable tension between environmental realism and environmental constructivism. It sensitizes us to the intersection of culture and political economy. It also draws our attention to the intimate connection between the operation of social power at "micro" and "macro" dimensions. The result is a critical theory that is better equipped to comprehend the subtleties and complexities of environmental conflict in contemporary capitalist societies.

Introduction¹

The sub-discipline of environmental sociology is a relative newcomer to the academic field. From its emergence in the 1970s, environmental sociology has been distinct in its willingness to take seriously the relationship between society and the physical environment (Dunlap and Catton, 1979). During the development of environmental sociology, key research areas have included: the social dimensions of environmental conflict, land use planning, environmental risk, and environmentalism as a social movement (Dunlap and Catton, 1979). One of the major theoretical divisions that has emerged within environmental sociology since

its inception is the split between environmental "realism" and environmental "constructivism" (Buttel, 1996; Lidskog, 2001). The former focuses on the "material-ecological" substructure of environmental conflict (Buttel, 1996: 62). From this perspective, "the environment" is a real entity that places limits on human economic activity. Environmental science is able to define these limits and provide guidance for solving environmental problems. Environmental sociology done from such a standpoint tends to focus on political and economic barriers to environmental sustainability. By contrast, environmental constructivism represents a "cultural invasion of environmental sociology," influenced by postmodernism and cultural studies (74). Here, "the environment" and environmental problems are viewed as social constructions. As such, we can conceive of a multiplicity of "environments," rather than a singular "environment." Environmental sociology from this perspective focuses more on the discursive processes that define and contest "environmental problems."

Lidskog attempts to bridge the divide between these two sub-disciplines through a "stratified ontology." This position asserts that there are analytically distinct and autonomous "levels" of social reality (Lidskog, 2001: 126). From this position, we can recognize that "there is no doubt that nature matters for society" (128). At the same time, we can recognize that all environmental knowledge is inevitably filtered through "human interpretation and articulation" (129). This brings us to an environmental sociology that asserts that the "social reality" of environmental problems is both "discursively *and* materially constituted" (125). Taking Lidskog's ontological position as a starting point, I would like to focus on the tension between the "political ecology" orientation of environmental realism and the "cultural" focus of environmental constructivism.

Stuart Hall argues that theoretical movement occurs through living within and wrestling with "irritable tensions," such as the divide between environmental realism and environmental constructivism (Hall, 1992). A theoretical framework derived from the intersection of the work of Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) and Michel Foucault (1926-1984) may be useful for bridging the different foci of these two approaches to environmental sociology. It may help us creating space for movement while living with this particular irritable tension.

A theoretical lens constructed at the “Gramsci-Foucault nexus” enables us to connect the cultural, economic and political dimensions of environmental conflict. Gramsci’s theoretical work, centred on the notion of hegemony, examines how cultural processes are intimately related, but not reducible, to systems of economic and political power (Gramsci, 1971; Femia, 1981). Carroll and Ratner have argued that the Gramscian concepts of hegemony and counter-hegemony provide an innovative “middle ground” position for critical theory (Carroll and Ratner, 1994). It avoids both the “class reductionism” associated with much critical theory and the “fragmentary relativism” that characterizes much postmodernist work (Carroll and Ratner, 1994: 7). My use of Gramscian theory will be linked to the theoretical work of Michel Foucault. I believe that Foucault’s work is essentially compatible with a Gramscian orientation. Foucault’s notions of power/knowledge and discourse provide useful tools for analyzing the mechanisms for reproducing hegemony at specific social-historical sites (Foucault, 1980b).

The notion of a Gramsci-Foucault nexus is not entirely novel. Both authors are well known throughout the social sciences and have spawned their own intellectual traditions. Furthermore, we may look to the work of Paul Routledge and Stephen Gill for earlier attempts to map out this theoretical terrain. Routledge has attempted to apply the intersection of Foucauldian and Gramscian theory to social movements research. He argues that Foucault’s conception of power, while offering insight, is “too amorphous” (Routledge, 1996: 511). He writes that power “has both macro and micro dimensions – local resistances tend to privilege the subject while macro processes (e.g. imperialism) tend to be manipulated by states – and this difference is not given due consideration by Foucault” (511). Elsewhere, Gill draws on the intersection of Foucault and Gramsci to analyze neoliberal ideology within processes of globalization. He writes: “Despite the Foucauldian preoccupation with the problematic of power/knowledge as localized and institutionalized by discourse, with localized resistance . . . there is . . . no adequate link between macro and micro-structures of power” (Gill, 1995: 403). Both of these authors attempt to bridge Foucauldian concepts with a Gramscian framework as a means to ground Foucault’s model of power/knowledge in a model of political life which has a more adequate grasp of economic and political structure (Gill, 1995; Routledge, 1996).

Routledge and Gill draw on the Gramsci-Foucault nexus as a means to live within the tension between the politically engaged standpoint of critical theory and the attention to discourse of poststructuralism. This theoretical lens is essentially critical, but also appreciates the subtlety and fluidity of the social world as it is described in poststructuralist theory. From this point of departure, I will extend the work of Routledge and Gill by arguing that this theoretical lens may be brought into environmental sociology as a means of adding depth and complexity to the study of environmental conflict. The Gramsci-Foucault nexus provides an overarching theoretical framework that enables us to inhabit one of environmental sociology's irritable tensions between environmental realism and environmental constructivism.

Political Ecology and Environmental Constructivism

Political ecology is rooted in the Marxian theoretical tradition and locates environmental conflict within a broader understanding of social inequality. Here, the dependence of capital on the colonization and depletion of natural ecosystems is seen as a theoretical blind spot in sociology. Where the "cultural" realm is discussed, it tends to be simplified and constructed in terms of a dominant ideology. Reading this work through the Gramsci-Foucault nexus may add depth and complexity to the analysis.

Allan Schnaiberg's work in environmental sociology provides several useful key concepts, such as the "treadmill of production," "managed scarcity," and "ecological synthesis" (Schnaiberg, 1980; Gould et al, 1993; Gould et al, 1995; Schnaiberg, 2002; Buttel, 2003). Schnaiberg defines the "treadmill of production" as the ensemble of social groups who have a stake in the ongoing depletion of natural resources which underlies capitalist production. While capital obviously benefits from the smooth working of the treadmill, through the accumulation of profit, other groups benefit as well. Workers are integrated into the treadmill, both as wage earners and as consumers of the goods and services provided by capital. Likewise, the state is integrated into the treadmill because it is dependent upon the continued good-will of capital and because it must maintain the consent of the governed.

However, as the treadmill comes up against ecological limits to production, there are two choices available to society: managed scarcity or ecological synthesis. Managed scarcity involves making the minimum

change necessary to mitigate against environmental problems while preserving the integrity of the treadmill. Under managed scarcity, environmental health and pollution are allocated according to existing structures of economic power. By contrast, ecological synthesis involves a radical re-orientation of the treadmill according to environmental and social justice values (Schnaiberg, 1980; Gould et al, 1993).

John Bellamy Foster also demonstrates a political ecology perspective. Like Schnaiberg, Foster is concerned with themes such as: the inherent incompatibility of capitalism and ecological sustainability; the critique of "sustainable development" as an eco-capitalist ideology; and the need to link environmentalism and social justice (Foster, 2002). In his analysis of the conflict over the old-growth forests of the American Pacific Northwest, Foster concludes that capital and the state have worked to split labour and environmentalists by mobilizing a dominant ideology of "trees versus jobs" (Foster, 1991; Foster, 1993). This dominant ideology conflates the interests of labour and the interests of capital, thereby enhancing the strength of capital in the conflict over control of forest resources. For Foster, it is imperative that environmentalists challenge this dominant ideology. He writes: "An ecological movement that stands for the earth alone and ignores class and other social inequalities will succeed at best in displacing environmental problems, meanwhile reinforcing the dominant relations of power in global capitalism" (Foster, 1993: 12).

Finally, Alexander Simon also looks at the ways in which a "dominant ideology" has been used by forestry capital in rural British Columbia to divide labour and environmentalists (Simon, 1998). This has been accomplished through the creation of an ideological dichotomy between "the rural working class, which has direct, practical knowledge of the environment and the urban, middle class environmentalists who do not directly engage in material interchanges with nature, and therefore have flawed ideas regarding forestry issues" (Simon, 1998: 24). As Simon notes, "while it is apparent that not all workers and rural residents are so easily duped by corporate propaganda, these tactics constitute a major barrier to an effective labor-environmentalist alliance" (36).

While the political ecology perspective is useful, it is also problematic in that it often fails to provide sufficient attention to the cultural realm of environmental conflict and the ways in which "the environment" is constructed through social interaction. For example, while

Schnaiberg perceives the mass media and consumerist advertising as a "barrier" to environmental consciousness and "consumer autonomy," the importance of cultural facets of environmental politics are given very limited attention within his work (Schnaiberg, 1980: 179; also see Hanigan, 1995). Likewise, where Gould, Weinberg and Schnaiberg discuss the increasingly global reach of the treadmill, they neglect the corollary emergence of a "sustainable development" discourse that legitimizes the spread of an ecologically-destructive political economy (Gould et al, 1995).

Also, while Foster and Simon both turn their attention to the "cultural" realm of ideology, this analysis relies upon an untenable "dominant ideology" perspective. That is, cultural constructions take on the appearance of reified entities; we lose an appreciation for the social processes through which culture (and "nature") is created, maintained and challenged. Foster writes, "From an ecosocialist perspective there is no difficulty in seeing that the rapid destruction of the old growth forest is not about owls vs. jobs but ecosystems vs. profits" (Foster, 1993: 41). However, there is little exploration of the cultural processes that lead the "owls vs. jobs" discourse to become hegemonic, while the "ecosystems vs. profits" discourse remains marginalized. Drawing upon the intersecting concepts of hegemony and power/knowledge, we could problematize the actual communicative processes through which the interests of capital are articulated with the interests of labour. We would see how social conflict over the control of natural resources is intimately related to cultural conflict over the social meaning of "environmental problems."

Where there has been a more satisfying move towards an integration of political economy and cultural analysis is in the "new political ecology" of Escobar, Peluso and others. This body of work focuses on "environmental struggles as both material and symbolic discursive practices as embodying power relations" (Goldman and Schurman, 2000). Or, as Peluso puts it, new political ecology looks to "conjunctures or convergences of culture, power, and political economy as analytical starting points" (Peluso and Watts, 2001: 25). For example, one of the main themes in this work is the ways in which the globalization of capitalist relations of production and consumption has been linked to dominant discourse of "sustainable development" that works to re-colonize the global south as an object of environmental management (Escobar,

1992; Escobar, 1995; Guha, 2000; Peluso, 1992; Peluso and Watts, 2001; Sachs, 1993; Sklair, 2001).

As Escobar writes:

Sustainable development is the last attempt to articulate modernity and capitalism before the advent of cyberculture. The resignification of nature as environment; the reinscription of the Earth into capital via the gaze of science; the reinterpretation of poverty as effect of destroyed environment; and the new lease on management and planning as arbiters between people and nature, all of these are effects of the discursive construction of sustainable development (Escobar, 1995: 202).

In examining how the "hegemony of globalism" is accomplished through a sustainable development discourse, this new political ecology approaches the intersection of culture and social structure from a political economy standpoint.

If political ecology tends to foreground the political economy of environmental conflict, environmental constructivism takes a more post-modern view of the society-environment relationship. Here, the "cultural" realm of environmental conflict tends to be privileged over an analysis that locates environmental conflict within the political economy of a society. In an ideal-typical form, environmental constructivism is concerned with the "ideas of society . . . [that] have been reproduced, legitimated or transformed through appeals to nature and the environment" (Lidskog, 2001: 118). In general, this theoretical orientation is "agnostic . . . concerning the validity of the ecological threats that natural scientists, politicians and the media create and distribute" (119). Like the "radical pluralism" critiqued by Carroll and Ratner, environmental constructivism can lose sight of the economic and political structures that help shape environmental conflict, as it focuses on the world of discourse (Carroll and Ratner, 1994).

One of the major arguments of environmental constructivism is that ecological science cannot be taken as an unproblematic description of reality. Instead, environmental problems -- and the "environment" itself -- are constructed by a broad range of social actors that includes scientists, activists, politicians and writers. While something of the natural

environment lies beyond the horizon of the social, once it is brought into the realm of public debate, it is inevitably translated into a social construction (Macnaghten and Urry, 1998). From this perspective, the forests which are the subject of forest policy debate are essentially social entities. As Macnaghten and Urry write, "There is no nature simply waiting to be conserved, but, rather all forms of its conservation entail judgments as to what indeed is nature" (Macnaghten and Urry, 1998: 23).

John Hannigan's work is concerned with the ways in which environmental problems are socially constructed through the claims-making activity of environmental activists (Hannigan, 1995). Hannigan offers a model for the successful construction of an "environmental problem." For example, environmental claims-makers must invoke scientific authority to legitimize their claims. There must also be environmental spokespeople who can translate scientific knowledge into public common sense. Finally, environmental claims-makers must be able to reach the public through the media. Through public claims-making, environmental activists work to construct a social reality about the environment and our relationship with it. The mass media are a key site where environmental claims-makers try to convince the public that an environmental problem is "novel and important" (Hannigan, 1995: 55).

Catriona Sandilands also provides a more constructionist approach to theorizing the environment-society relationship. In *The Good Natured Feminist: Ecofeminism and the Quest for Democracy*, Sandilands explores issues of identity construction, authenticity and political representation in ecological and ecofeminist politics. She espouses an ecological politics which eschews essentialism and universalism in favour of the particular (Sandilands, 1999). Sandilands also problematizes the notion of authenticity: the claim to be able to speak on behalf of "nature." As she notes, the "nature" produced by environmentalists or environmental scientists is inherently social; it is transformed in its translation into discourse (Sandilands, 1995).

The question of how to engage in a politics of environmental protection that recognizes the socially-constructed nature of "nature" is addressed by Sandilands. Through the notion of "wild justice," Sandilands offers a conceptual frame for recognizing that there is a value of nature as subject, beyond social discourse, while simultaneously recognizing that any particular representation of nature is a social construction

(Sandilands, 1994). As Sandilands writes, there is an "aspect of nature that cannot be apprehended in political discourse," something that is inevitably beyond the horizon of the social (Sandilands, 1994: 168). Through the concept of wild justice, Sandilands illuminates a potential solution to the problem of trying to authentically represent "nature" within the political realm. She writes:

By conceptualizing the domination of nature as a hierarchical process of oppression, nature becomes a social problem, linked to and interstructured with other forms of oppression. The liberation of nature is thus only attainable through struggles for social justice (169).

In Sandilands' formulation, environmental politics should move towards the elaboration of a democratic, intersubjective nature, which still recognizes the existence of something fundamentally beyond the horizon of the social. Thus, despite their different orientations, political ecology and environmental constructivism may both lead to a model of environmental politics which articulates ecological concerns with a politics of social justice.

While environmental constructivism's analysis of the cultural dimension of environmental conflict is a necessary corrective to the cultural blind spot in political ecology, this perspective often lacks a connection with questions of economic and political power. The large discrepancies in social power between environmental claims-makers and the corporate and state actors in environmental conflict are rarely problematized. While environmental constructivism avoids the simplicity of a "dominant ideology" approach, it tends to overlook the processes through which the cultural construction of environmental problems is linked with political and economic structures of power.

Political ecology and environmental constructivism each offer an intriguing perspective on the questions of environmental conflict and the environment-society relationship. Political ecology is valuable in that it locates environmental conflict within a network of social and economic power. It illuminates the connections between environmental issues and questions of social justice. At the same time, environmental constructivism's emphasis on the essentially social character of environmental conflict is an important theoretical contribution. In the following section, I

will outline a theoretical lens constructed at the Gramsci-Foucault nexus, which may provide a framework for bringing together key concepts from both sides of this theoretical divide. The Gramsci-Foucault nexus is a valuable tool for dealing with this theoretical tension through "a genuinely dialogically critical engagement" (Hall, 1992: 291)

The Gramsci-Foucault Nexus

In the previous section, I have outlined the division between a more "critical" political ecology perspective and a more "postmodern" environmental constructivist perspective in environmental sociology. In this section, I will construct a theoretical lens from the intersection of Gramscian and Foucauldian theory which is essentially critical, but which also takes postmodernism seriously. The result is a critical theory that is equipped to comprehend the subtlety and complexity of environmental conflict in a modern capitalist society.

The work of Antonio Gramsci and his successors forms the foundation for this theoretical lens. Through the notions of hegemony and counter-hegemony, Gramscian theory provides a framework for analyzing the connections between culture, economy and political conflict (Gramsci, 1971). As such, it provides a conceptual frame that can be used to draw on the strengths of both political ecology and environmental constructivism. For Gramsci, hegemony is a form of social control grounded in the consent and willing participation of the governed; it is an alternative to coercion as a means of governing a society. Hegemony is distinctly *not* synonymous with a dominant ideology (Grossberg, 1996). Instead, it may be understood as a set of core values that are integrated into everyday life. Hegemony is produced through the state, but also through the organizations of "civil society," such as the mass media, or religious and educational institutions (Femia, 1981: 24). While hegemony tends to reflect the interests of elite groups, it must be consciously maintained and constantly negotiated. As it is forged, it must also account for the needs of subaltern groups (Hall, 1996). As Hall writes, while "the ideological field is always . . . articulated to different social and political positions, its shape and structure do *not* precisely mirror . . . the class structure of society" (Hall, 1996: 434).

Hegemony is also a "cultural" form of social control that is intimately linked with the political economy of society. As Williams writes, hegemony is a "specific economic, political, and cultural system"; it places

“pressures and limits” on our understanding of the social world (Williams, 1977: 110). While all social actors can contribute to the formation of a hegemonic order, there are meaningful differences in political-economic power that privilege certain actors in the cultural production of hegemony. As Williams observes, “To say that ‘men’ define and shape their whole lives is true only in abstraction. In any actual society there are specific inequalities in means and therefore in capacity to realize this process” (Williams, 1977: 108). By recognizing the economic factors that limit participation in the creation of hegemony, Gramsci theorizes the connections between the culture-formation of a society and political-economic power.

The notion of hegemony addresses the failure of revolutionary class consciousness to emerge in industrial societies. For Gramsci, critical consciousness does not spontaneously emerge from the experience of labour exploitation. Rather, critical consciousness must be actively developed in opposition to a hegemonic order (Williams, 1977). This leads us to Gramsci’s inter-related notions of subalternity, the “organic intellectual,” and counter-hegemony. In Gramsci’s usage, subaltern groups consist of those who are subordinated in the process of capitalist production. In this sense, the Marxian working class is the archetypal subaltern group. However, the notion of subalternity has been extended by others to include the multiplicity of social identities that demarcate a subordinate position within the hierarchies of political, economic, or cultural power (cf. Hall, 1996). For example, subalternity can be read through the lens of gender, sexual orientation, or ethnicity.

According to Gramsci, the critical consciousness of subaltern groups must be actively produced. This is where the “organic intellectual” fits in. While “traditional intellectuals,” who are found in positions of privilege, generally act to reproduce hegemony, organic intellectuals can emerge from within subaltern groups (Gramsci, 1971). They are critical intellectuals, whose lived experience within a subaltern group leads them to critique the dominant hegemony. While everyone has the potential to become an organic intellectual, not everyone fulfills this social role (Gramsci, 1971: 9). Organic intellectuals are the nuclei around which counter-hegemonic discourses emerge. As Hall writes, “The organic intellectual cannot absolve himself or herself from the responsibility of transmitting those ideas, that knowledge, through the intellec-

tual function, to those who do not belong, professionally, in the intellectual class" (Hall, 1992: 281).

Stuart Hall's concept of "articulation" provides an important addition to the Gramscian theoretical framework. The notion of articulation focuses on the social process whereby discourses are joined with each other; as well as with historically specific political and economic practices (Grossberg, 1996; Rupert, 2000). The concept of articulation is defined by Hall as follows:

An articulation is . . . the form of the connection that *can* make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions. It is a linkage which is not necessary, determined, absolute and essential for all time. . . . the so-called "unity" of a discourse is really the articulation of different, distinct elements which can be re-articulated in different ways . . . The "unity" which matters is a linkage between that articulated discourse and the social forces with which it can, under certain historical conditions, but need not necessarily, be connected (Hall qtd Grossberg, 1996: 53).

As an illustrative example, Rupert uses the concept of articulation to examine how anti-globalization discourse has been linked with both progressive, leftist political movements, as well as with a right-wing political agenda (Rupert, 2000). In his analysis, we see how the counter-hegemonic critique of globalization can be articulated with demands for social justice and environmental sustainability. Alternately, it can be articulated with a nationalist and religious fundamentalist political agenda. Through the key concept of articulation, we see how hegemonic values are linked to political and economic structures in specific historical-social locations. Articulation helps us map the points of convergence between culture, economy and politics.

Finally, Laurie Adkin provides a useful illustration of a Gramscian environmental sociology. Adkin argues that there is "not one 'environmentalism' but many," which can either be articulated with hegemonic or counter-hegemonic political projects (Adkin, 1992: 135). Adkin has examined both the diversity of Canadian environmentalism, as well as the broader discourse of "sustainable development" (Adkin, 1992; Adkin, 2000). Through this research, she has demonstrated how envi-

ronmentalism may either be contained, through articulation with an eco-capitalist project; or how it may be mobilized as part of a broader counter-hegemonic movement. For Adkin, the “apolitical” environmental discourse adapted by many social movement actors can lead to a sort of “passive revolution.” In Gramscian theory, the trap of “passive revolution” is described as the failure “to alter hegemonic constraints” by engaging in a politics geared towards “limited reforms” (Carroll and Ratner, 1999: 31). In Adkin’s view, the radical democratic potential of ecology has frequently been contained within the structures of a capitalist economy. Writing about the “sustainable development” project, Adkin observes:

Many environmentalists have been persuaded that market mechanisms offer the only achievable gains for environmental objectives. There has been a trend towards . . . the adoption of an environmental management approach linked to technological modernization . . . and divorced from transformative social projects (Adkin, 2000: 64).

By contrast, Adkin argues that environmental discourse and politics should be articulated with other social movements in a broader counter-hegemonic movement.

Gramscian theory provides a good model for understanding how hegemony is constructed, maintained, challenged and transformed. It gives a useful account of how elite values are disseminated and integrated, without relying on a crude “dominant ideology” perspective. However, I believe that this model can be enriched by incorporating insights from Michel Foucault about the relationship between power and knowledge. Foucauldian theory enables us to better understand how hegemony is produced at a specific site of social interaction. Thus, I would like to bring Foucault’s theory of power/knowledge into dialogue with Gramscian theory.

Foucault’s model of power points to an understanding of power as a process, rather than as a property, or an object. In this model, power is not a zero sum game. Individuals are embedded within networks of power. They simultaneously wield power and are governed by it in their relationships with others. According to Foucault, power “is never localized here or there, never in anybody’s hands, never appropriated as a

commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organization" (Foucault, 1980b: 98). From this understanding of power, it follows that an analysis of power must concern itself with the processes through which power is exercised. As Foucault writes:

If power is properly speaking the way in which relations of forces are deployed and given concrete expression, rather than analyzing it in terms of cession, contract or alienation, or functionally in terms of its maintenance of the relations of production, should we not analyze it primarily in terms of *struggle, conflict and war?* (Foucault, 1980b: 90).

In this formulation, discursive strategies of power are not translated wholesale by dominant groups into social practice (Gordon, 1980). Just as hegemony is never a finished project, so too are strategies of power contested and re-shaped as they are applied in real social relations.

Building upon this model of power, Foucault introduces the concept of power/knowledge: the notion that power is intimately linked with discourse. Gordon writes that discourses are marked by "immanent principles of regularity, they are also bound by regulations enforced through social practices of appropriation, control and policing" (Gordon, 1980: 245). The regulation of discourse deals with who is allowed to speak on a given topic and which knowledges are subjugated in the production of "truth" (Foucault, 1980b: 81-82). Discourses are vehicles, or sites, of social power. As Foucault notes, "relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse. There can be no possible exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses" (Foucault, 1980b: 93). If discourses are sites for the exercise of social power, then the production of discourse may also constrain and challenge the exercise of power. Networks of power/knowledge are also sites of resistance, where "truth" is produced and contested by oppositional groups as well as elites. The result, as Gordon writes, is that "discourse is a political commodity" (Gordon, 1980: 245).

Foucault's understanding of discourse, power and knowledge leads to the post-structural destabilization of "truth." From this perspective, truth becomes a social construct, built from a network of dominant discourses.

As Foucault writes: "Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true" (Foucault, 1980a: 131). From a Foucauldian perspective, the research task cannot be to evaluate discourse as "true" or "false," as all discourses are socially constructed. Rather, we can see only how discourses are mobilized in the exercise of social power.

Finally, a Foucauldian orientation to environmental sociology has been employed by several authors. For example, Timothy Luke has drawn heavily upon Foucault's concept of "governmentality" in developing his own analysis "environmentality" (Foucault, 1991; Luke, 1999a; Luke, 1999b; Luke, 2002). Here, the government of ecological populations is accomplished through a politics of "eco-managerialism," which takes as its guiding mission the "redefining and then administering the earth as 'natural resources'" (Luke, 1999a: 104). Here, the government and environmental science work to transform non-human nature into the "terrestrial infrastructure for global capital" (106). The concept of governmentality has also been taken up by Matthews in his analysis of the "turbot war" conflict between Canada and Spain in 1995 (Matthews, 1996). Matthews concludes that the Canadian state used discourses of ecological risk and species preservation to provide moral grounding to a legally questionable action: the seizure of a Spanish fishing ship outside of its national jurisdiction. Thus, ecological discourse is mobilized to legitimize the state's governmentality over fish populations.

Foucault's notion of biopower has also been adapted for environmental sociology (Foucault, 1978). Essentially, biopower refers to the power of the state to regulate and govern entire populations. As Foucault writes, biopower is concerned with "the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of production and the adjustment of the phenomena of population to economic processes"; as such the emergence of biopower was "an indispensable element in the development of capitalism" (Foucault, 1978: 140-141). Rutherford has argued that the notion of biopower can usefully be extended into the realm of the ecological, where natural "populations" were defined, through scientific systems of power/knowledge, as a species body that could be subject to processes of governmentality (Rutherford, 1999; also see Rutherford, 1994).

There are both points of intersection and points of tension involved in bringing Gramscian and Foucauldian theory together. Here, I will turn

to critiques of Foucault which justify the subordination of Foucauldian key concepts within a broadly Gramscian theoretical lens. In Nancy Fraser's critique of Foucault, she problematizes Foucault's "bracketing" of epistemological and normative frameworks in his analysis of power/knowledge (Fraser, 1989).² For Fraser, there is a tension in Foucault's work between claims to normative agnosticism, and a style of writing that is obviously engaged and critical. For her, this tension is unresolved in Foucault's own work, leading to vagueness. Thus, Fraser illuminates one of the points of tension between Foucault and Gramsci. Foucault's refusal to apply moral evaluation to the production of discourse or the exercise of power is inconsistent with Gramscian theory's commitment to a critical and politically engaged research stance. From a Foucauldian perspective, we cannot evaluate whether or not a given discourse is "true" or "false." The evaluation of "truth" is outside the realm of debate, once we accept that the "truth" of a discourse is not an objective fact, but rather the result of the exercise of social power. Bringing Foucault into dialogue with Gramscian theory may be one way to circumvent Foucault's moral agnosticism, while acknowledging the tenuous character of "truth."

Like Fraser, Hall argues that Foucault's key concepts of discourse, power/knowledge and discipline are incompatible with an "apolitical" stance that rejects the notion of ideology (Grossberg, 1996). As Hall writes, "What Foucault would talk about is the setting in place, through the institutionalization of a discursive regime, of a number of competing regimes of truth and, within these regimes, the operation of power" (Hall qtd Grossberg, 1996: 48). For Hall, this is quite consistent with Gramsci's notion of hegemony, despite Foucault's reluctance to use the term "ideology." Hall continues, arguing, "I don't see how you can retain the notion of 'resistance,' as he does, without facing questions about the constitution of dominance in ideology" (48). For Hall, we can comprehend Foucault's notion of power/knowledge as something similar to Gramsci's model of "hegemony." By integrating the most useful key concepts from Foucault into a broadly Gramscian framework, we move towards a resolution of this ambiguity in Foucauldian theory.

Another point of criticism raised by Hall deals with Foucault's exclusive focus on discourse as a field of inquiry. Hall argues that "the fully discursive position is a reductionism upward, rather than a reductionism downward, as economism was" (Hall qtd Grossberg, 1996: 57). Here,

bringing Foucault into dialogue with Gramsci is also useful, as Gramscian theory retains a focus on “the way in which ideological/cultural/discursive practices continue to exist within the determining lines of force of material relations, and the expropriation of nature” (57). Thus, while Foucault’s model of power/knowledge may be a useful analytical tool for examining how power is produced, exercised and challenged in a specific research site, Gramscian theory draws our attention to the need to link the politics of discourse with political and economic relationships in the world beyond the text. In a similar vein, Carroll and Ratner note that the post-structural erasure of a sense of structural – or “extra-discursive” -- boundaries to social behaviour is problematic (Carroll and Ratner, 1994). By locating the Foucauldian key concepts of power/knowledge and discourse within a broadly Gramscian analytical framework, we can more usefully account for the ways in which discourse is articulated with political and economic conflict outside the realm of the textual.

Finally, Carroll and Ratner note that there is a profound difference between the Gramscian notion of counter-hegemony and the model of “anti-hegemony” that is implicit in Foucauldian theory (Carroll and Ratner, 1994). As they write, the form of resistance espoused by Foucault is “not *counter*-hegemonic in the sense of aspiring to build consensus around an emancipatory project; it is *anti*-hegemonic in the sense of opposing attempts to construct a general interest of whatever kind” (Carroll and Ratner, 1994: 13). Here, Gramsci’s notion of counter-hegemony is more useful if we wish to adopt a critical research stance, which is aligned with a movement for social change.

Despite the points of tension between Gramscian and Foucauldian theory, there is also a degree of convergence, which makes a dialogue between their respective bodies of work interesting and useful. Foucault’s notion of power/knowledge is a useful addition to the Gramscian framework in that it reinforces the notion that “hegemony” is not an object that is wielded by one class over another.³ Rather, it may be viewed as a macro-social description of a multitude of social processes, many of which occur on a micro-social level. Hegemony may be read as a short-hand for the repeated exercise of ideological power across a vast number of social sites. This conception of power draws attention to the need to research the localized sites where hegemony is exercised. While Gramsci offers the conceptual tools for a larger-scale explanation of

hegemony, Foucault offers the analytical tools for examining the production of hegemony at the local level.

Conclusion

A theoretical lens constructed at the “Gramsci-Foucault nexus” enables us to connect the cultural, economic and political dimensions of environmental conflict. Gramsci’s theoretical work, centred on the notion of hegemony, examines how cultural processes are intimately related, but not reducible, to systems of economic and political power. At the same time, I believe that an engagement with Foucauldian theory can enrich an essentially Gramscian orientation. Foucault’s notions of power/knowledge and discourse provide useful tools for analyzing the mechanisms for reproducing hegemony at specific social-historical sites.

This Gramsci-Foucault nexus is essentially critical, but also appreciates the subtlety and fluidity of the social world as it is described in post-modern theory. The Gramsci-Foucault nexus provides an overarching theoretical framework that can help us bridge the political ecology-environmental constructivism dichotomy in environmental sociology. It sensitizes us to the intersection of culture and political economy. It also draws our attention to the intimate connection between the operation of social power at “micro” and “macro” dimensions. As such, this theoretical lens may add depth and complexity to the study of environmentalism and environmental conflict. It is a potentially valuable tool for inhabiting the irritable tension between environmental realism and environmental constructivism. Though it cannot completely resolve this tension, it does allow us to create movement within this tension.

Endnotes

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2. The problematic relationship between Foucauldian epistemology and environmental politics is discussed by Darier (1999), Quigley (1999) and Chaloupka (2002).

3. This is not an error made by Gramsci, or by the other "Gramscian" theorists discussed here. However, as Hall notes, this misuse of "hegemony" is quite common (Grossberg 1996, 59).

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Racial Origins of Civic Nationalisms: Exploring Race Creation in Australia and Canada

Oren Howlett

Nationalism is an ideology. It claims to know when a nation exists, who belongs to it, and who does not, and why. It advocates the creation of an individual state as a nation's natural right, a precondition for realization of its fullest potential. Nationalism invents a group of people who recognize in each other a shared community of culture, history, and future expectation. (Senese, 2000)

Nationalism in any guise creates confusion, not clarity; anxiety, not tranquility. (Senese, 2000, 125)

The quotations above demonstrate the complexity of nationalism. In her essay entitled, "Weeds in the Garden of Civic Nationalism", Senese (2000) considers the major 'weed in the garden' of Canadian civic nationalism to be the ethnic nationalism of French Canadians (113). However, her discussion of civic nationalism is incomplete. In identifying who belongs to the nation, she fails to notice the exclusion of "the other" that inhabits the same territory as English and French Canadians and their civic or ethnic nationalisms: Aboriginal peoples and "race" minorities. As a result, this omission demands greater exploration. The history of Aboriginal oppression and colonization in settler societies and their future nation-states is relatively well known and documented (Broome, 1994; Dickason, 2002; McMillan *et al.*, 2004; Mulvaney, 1989). This essay, however, focuses on the experiences of national

exclusion through the creation of "race" suffered by visible "race" minorities in two such settler society nation-states: Australia and Canada.

In presenting an analysis of "race" creation in Canadian and Australian civic nationalisms, I hope to provide another layer to the existing work that explores the relationship between "race" and nationalism, incorporating the exclusion of "race" minorities from the benefits of civic nationalism into these discourses. In so doing, I wish to show the false nature of the dichotomy between the ideal civic nationalism and the "backwards" or "primitive" ethnic nationalisms. As a consequence, this paper argues that civic nationalisms, which have always existed in Australia and Canada, were, and continue to be, based on "race" and racist images of who belongs (White English-speaking Australians and Canadians) and who does not (Non-whites). Hence, I contend that race creation is and has been central to civic nationalism's exclusions, making nothing more than a variation of ethnic nationalism with ethnic roots.

To achieve the stated goals, I investigate the history of "race" creation in both Australia and Canada through a survey of scholarship on nationalism and "race" in Canada and Australia. First, I examine the creation of "race" in the nation. I then demonstrate the construction of the state in keeping with the imagined Canadian and Australian nations. This process, enabled through policies of nation-building, is based on whites-only nationalism in both countries. Following this, I present an overview of the recent attempts to deconstruct Canada and Australia's whites-only nationalism with replacement policies of multiculturalism. I suggest, however, that these policies which were meant to include all within the nation actually serve to further alienate, manage, and de-politicize non-white groups. Finally, I end this article with a discussion of the possibility of "de-rac(e)-ing" the nation and achieving a truly civic nationalism.

Before beginning this study, concepts must be defined and the limitations on the scope of the paper must be considered. Firstly, the study is limited to the settler societies of Australia and Canada. These societies provide an excellent opportunity for the exploration of "race" creation in the early development of settler nationalisms. Moreover, these two countries provide historical trajectories that are very similar and complementary for a comparative examination of nationalism and "race". Yet, at the same time, nuanced differences provide an interesting comparison

for analysis. In completing this comparative study, I follow in the steps of many scholars who have used similar comparative frameworks between settler societies and their resulting nation-states (Albinski, 1973; Alexander & Galligan, 1992; Berry *et al.*, 1985; Blee, 2001; Crabbe & Australian and New Zealand Association for Canadian Studies., 1983; MacDonagh *et al.*, 1988).

I have also limited my study to the exclusion of “race” minority Canadians and Australians. Therefore, French Canadians in the Canadian case will not be considered in this study. Moreover, I will not include Aboriginal peoples in my definition of “race” minority or non-white Canadian and Australian groups. While I acknowledge the racialization of Aboriginal peoples in both countries, there are reasons for this exclusion. First, the Aboriginal peoples of both countries have a different history of oppression – internal colonialism.¹ As the original inhabitants of this land, their oppression created the base upon which the exclusion of other visible minorities was built (Vickers, 2000, 145). Moreover, Aboriginal peoples have themselves long disputed and resisted their inclusion under the rubric of multicultural policies and discourses, claiming that they are not just another ethnic or “race” minority. From an Aboriginal point of view, they are instead the rightful inhabitants of lands appropriated by Canadians and Australians. In addition, “race” minorities also benefit from Aboriginal land losses through the colonial processes of internal colonization further differentiating their experiences of oppression (Vickers, 2000, 145).

Finally, the problematic term of “race” must also be discussed. To this point, “race” has been enclosed in quotations.² This is done to recognize the social construction of the term. As Simms notes, “[t]he scientific basis of such identification is largely suspect, but the concept of ‘race’ is socially accepted” (1993, 334). As this study illustrates, the concept of “race” is generally defined by the historically dominant group of society. Stasiulis and Williams (1992) illustrate that the dominant group has the political power to decide who is racialized and who is not. Thus, “race” has different meanings depending upon the national context and the dominant group(s) in society.

For simplicity and ease of language, I will use the term “non-whites” as synonymous with Canadians and Australians of visible “race” minority status, such as non-white landed immigrants and visible minorities.³

The narrow focus of this terminology reflects the construction and reconstruction of non-white citizens in political and social discourses and acknowledges the replacement of "race" by ethnic diversity in both nation-states. As a result, it is hard to find a single term that remains constant throughout the literature examined. With this framework, I hope to provide clarity and understanding to abstract and subjective terminology.

Imagining Nation and the Creation of Race

The origins of race creation in Canada and Australia can be found in the history of racialism (Betts, 1988; Castles *et al.*, 1992; Kane, 1997; London, 1970; Markus, 1994; Marx, 1998; Vickers, 2000). Vickers finds that political regimes in both countries were built on values of race hierarchy and ideals of racialism. Racialism consists of three ideas: 1) humans are divided into races; 2) human capabilities are determined by race; and 3) one race can rule over another race because of their superiority (2000, 2).

In his discussion of the United States, South Africa, and Brazil, Anthony Marx observes the following of racialism's condoned white superiority:

The colo[u]r line was seen as having been drawn by God or biology. Slavery, proscriptions against miscegenation, colonialism, imperialism, manifest destiny, racially exclusive forms of citizenship or nationalism, exploitation were all justified by whites as preordained in nature. Such racism became a mode of thought endemic in Western civilization, buttressed by eugenics, social Darwinism, and explicitly racist theories such as those of Count Gobineau. Primordialism serving the interests of whites made the domination of darker peoples seem inescapable. (1998, 3)

The idea of racial domination and superiority reflected upon by Anthony Marx has far reaching implications in both Australia and Canada.

Values of racialism were central to the creation of race and settlement in both Canada and Australia. These racialist values permitted the racialization and internal colonization of Aboriginal peoples of Canada

and Australia. Moreover, they provided the context for the creation of race regimes in both countries, which would shape future imaginings of the nation and its accompanying sovereign state. As Vickers shows, internal colonialism underwent an important shift from colonial power in a sovereign regime to ordinary state enforcement in a governmental system based on racialist values (Vickers, 2000, 42). This new governmental regime needed to be harnessed to a nation. To do this, the imaginations of the forefathers of both Australia and Canada were necessary to carry out the work of mediation in creating their nations.

Benedict Anderson (1991) in his seminal work, *Imagined Communities*, defines the nation as an imagined political community (6). This definition accurately describes both the Australian and Canadian situations. The British soldiers and governors of both countries had the important task of imagining and defining the future of their lands. In doing so, they created nations in which they would feel at home. Their nation model, therefore, was based upon their British experience, in keeping with Anderson's assertion that "[n]o nation imagines itself as coterminous with mankind" (Anderson, 1991, 7). Thus, the founders of Canada and Australia created an ideal Australian and Canadian according to their previous white British experiences.

The main marker of the racial ideals for both countries was race. For example, one need only examine the debates of early Canadian elites to see their imagining of the Canadian nation and community. Strong-Boag (1998) provides an example of the race-based sentiments which shaped the imagined Canadian identity. Based on racialist principles, Canada was to be "a Northern country inhabited by the descendants of Northern races" (Strong-Boag et al., 1998, 8). As a result, Canadians were clearly imagined to be Anglo-Saxon descendants of British origin, white in race and superior to the Aborigines who were seen as savages with no history.

These themes of race and Britishness are entrenched within Australian identity and its nation as well. At the time of federation, Kane observes that Australian identity consisted of 'whiteness', 'Britishness', and Australianness which served to protect its security and assert dominion over the land (1997, 121-122). With Australia amongst the Asiatic countries and in a black man's world, we see the creation of a colonial nationalism built to defend a vulnerable colony. Thus, Australia

lia, in the middle of these two threats, created a colonial nationalism and Australian citizen to keep them at bay and arms length from the nation.

Clearly evident in both countries are patterns of race creation, based on racialist values, which created ideal images of white Australian and Canadian races, societies and countries. The process of race creation in the national imaginings of both Canada and Australia support Anthony Marx's assertion that race was purposely chosen as the defining feature of colonial nation (1998: 23). In Canada and Australia, the imagined nations, like the states they supported, were built upon race regimes that were imbued with these racist ideologies, widely held at the time and so deemed "rational and scientific". Through the joining of an imagined nation with a state supported by a governmental race regime, the pieces of the puzzle were set in place for the rise of Canadian and Australian nation-states.

Whites-Only Nationalism and Building the Nation-state

Before continuing our analysis of race creation in Australia and Canada, it is important to note that while the nation and state have been separated for discussion in this study, the state-run processes of national imagination and state reinforcement of that nation occur simultaneously. At this juncture, it is useful to turn to the work of Margaret Canovan (1996) who posits that "nationhood is a mediating phenomenon" (69). She continues that "nationhood is hard to define not because it is confused or nonsensical, but because it is extremely subtle, and moreover, because an element of myth is essential to it" (Canovan, 1996, 69). As a result, it is difficult to determine which one of the state-run national imagination or the state reinforcement of that nation is leading the other at a given point in a country's historical formation or reconstruction. Hence, the relationship between the nation and the state that is captured in the term "nation-state" is this meditation process between the constructed and imagined. This relationship is fluid, constantly evolving, and one of interdependence between these two entities.

Both Vickers and Anthony Marx use the concept of whites-only nationalism to characterize nationalisms driven by racialist values. While discussing different countries, the nationalisms of both Canada and Australia can be considered whites-only because of their imagined qualities, which exclude non-white "races" from the nation-state, as citizens but not as denizens, such as the case of indentured labourers and

race minority workers in both countries. As noted above, the work of mediation can sustain and perpetuate these inherent contradictions within the nation-state and in keeping with its nationalism.

In addition, nationalism is, in fact, both a political and cultural phenomenon, characterized by the articulation of the nation through political discourses and practices (Jenkins & Sofos, 1996, 12). This process, in short, elevates the nation to the status of political subject (Jenkins & Sofos, 1996, 12). Here it is useful to think of this political subject as a collective 'we.' Conovan elaborates on this usage below:

What nationhood does is to constitute a collective political subject – a 'we' – with the capacity to act collectively over long periods of time. In doing so, it acts as a reservoir of political power, providing a strikingly effective solution to the most fundamental of political problems. (1996, 72)

The process of nation building, however, driven by whites-only nationalism, is essential in this complex puzzle of relationships among nationalism, the nation, and the state. Through nation-building, governmental regimes are able to build nation-states that reinforce the race solidarity engendered by nationalism and harness its power and strength to maintain legitimacy and ruling power. As Anthony Marx argues:

Nationhood was institutionalized on the basis of race.... State-imposed exclusion of a specified internal group, used to reinforce the allegiance and unity of a core constituency, may be a more pervasive pattern. Indeed nation-states have often been based on such exclusion, not only according to race, but also ethnicity, class, and other cleavages. (1998, 25)

Thus, Anthony Marx helps us understand why racial solidarity was maintained in both nations through the nation building process of immigration, building upon the race regime of internal colonialism created for Aboriginal peoples in Canada and Australia.

In Canada and Australia, state-implemented policies developed around the imagined nation. Furthermore, state-elites sought to create the state in its image embedding the existing race regimes into the

administration of the nation-state. One of the clearest examples of such policies are immigration laws to both countries, which excluded non-whites as citizens or even completely. Not only did immigration affect the admission of labour to both nation-states, it also provided the opportunity for further government control and management of the population through the granting or denying of citizenship. As Anthony Marx observes, citizenship is key to the processes of exclusion and race creation (1998, 5).

In post-Confederation Canada, the early years of nation-building gave rise to an overtly and unapologetically racist immigration policy. Politicians of the day actively sought to create policies that restricted immigration from undesirable countries to maintain the homogeneity of the Canadian race. Stasiulis and Williams (1992) illuminate the mediation necessary in creating the racial hierarchy of suitable candidates for entry and citizenship in Canada. This ideological work contained all viewpoints, both explicitly racist and exclusive, and moderate and inclusive. Despite the efforts of a few liberal minded parliamentarians, however, early post-Confederation immigration overwhelmingly came from Britain to the almost complete exclusion of non-whites (Wayland, 1997, 36). Canada's hard labour was performed by the few immigrants from Central and Western Europe and China admitted to the country. This early pattern of immigration began to shift as pools of immigrants dried up (Fleras & Elliot, 1992; Mackey, 1999; Simms, 1993; Stasiulis & Jhappan, 1995; Vickers, 2000; Wayland, 1997). Canadian immigration policies, however, remained exclusionary, clinging to notions of racialism, and the image of a land of a "Northern race".

In contrast, Australia reinforced and justified racist immigration policies through a narrative of unity and cohesion of white Australians. Here, the entry of inferior non-whites was thought to threaten the development of the Australian nation-state and the equality needed for its success (Castles et al., 1992; Kane, 1997; London, 1970; Markus, 1994; Vickers, 2000). As a result, the need to create and maintain a homogeneous white Australian society was supported at any cost until the early 1970s (Vickers, 2000, 87). The prior experiences of using indentured Chinese workers to replace convict, and gold diggers helped support this belief and early leaders, whether motivated by fear, nationalism, humanitarianism, racial superiority, or all three, almost unanimously supported protection of the White Australia policy (London, 1970, 13).

In summary, to support whites-only nationalism, both the Canadian and Australian nation-states implemented racist immigration policies. These policies were justified in different ways. In Canada, arguments of environmental relativism and equal or suitable races were used to argue the superiority of the Canadian northern and European races and create a hierarchy of suitable races, immigrants, and citizens, to the exclusion of those with darker skin pigmentation, who were thought too morally and physically inferior. In contrast, Australians used unity, equality, and the quest for a democratic state to justify their overtly racist White Australia policy. Thus, through the maintenance of a white homogeneous society and complete exclusion of new non-white immigrants, they were able to avoid social cleavages while also protecting their nation-state from the threat of flooding by non-white immigrants such as the “yellow peril” of the nearby Asian countries, who would then undercut wages with their inexpensive labour and contribute to the degradation of Australian society.

Deconstruction of Whites-Only Nationalism: Building a Land for All

To this point, I have explored the creation of race in Canada and Australia. I have looked at the racialist principles that underlie the race regimes eventually set up in each country. I also introduced the concept of whites-only nationalism that was in use at the time of the founding of both nation-states. For simplicity, I broke down the nation-state by looking first at the imagining of the nation and then at the construction of the state according to the imagined whites-only nationalism via immigration and citizenship-granting policies. Hence, by the mid 1950s, both Canada and Australia were fully-fledged nation-states driven by visions which excluded and oppressed minorities because of their race.

Although race is no longer a justifiable reason for exclusion or discrimination, the concept continues to permeate our society and affect the lived experience of many within both countries. What has happened to the old race regimes, however, if race is no longer “politically correct”? As Jill Vickers notes, the state race regimes, on which whites-only nationalisms in Canada and Australia are built, currently are undergoing legislative deconstruction by policy makers (Vickers, 2000, 97). Consistent with Sylvia Walby’s (1997) rounds of restructuring⁴, the deconstruction of whites-only nationalism is hindered by two “sedimentary” factors. First, new pieces of legislation that attempt to deconstruct race

regimes are implemented alongside others which maintain internal colonialism, such as the *Indian Act* in Canada (Vickers, 2000, 98). Second, the democratic political system, which in practice has represented only the White citizens in both Canadian and Australia, creates an expectation for White citizens that this will continue (Vickers, 2000, 98). As a result, dismantling race regimes has proved very difficult.

Largely, the deconstruction of the old race regime has occurred in both nation-states at the level of legislative change, in the form of amended immigration laws. Yet, efforts to right past wrongs through legislative change have given rise to a new race regime: democratic racism. Democratic racism, like the older race regimes, is characterized by the continued disadvantaging of certain racial groups and the privileging of others. It differs because it brings together the values of democratic equality and racism (Vickers, 2000, 99). Thus, in terms of race, this new regime fits the pattern of the previous system of race creation by maintaining the status quo. While anti-racist and affirmative action legislation has been put in place, the implementation of multiculturalism in both countries will form the focus of my discussion.

Australian and Canadian governments have touted multiculturalism as a solution to the problem of diversity created by new immigration laws allowing non-white immigration. The Canadian government first introduced the policy of multiculturalism in the late 1960s. It later became entrenched in the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* in 1982. In Australia, the policy was adopted and adapted by politicians in the 1970s, based on the Canadian model. Thus, the race regimes in both countries shifted from different forms of non-white immigrant exclusion to the management of diversity through multiculturalism.

That multiculturalism manages cultural diversity in Canada has been noted by Canadian scholars (Bissoondath, 1993; Day, 2000; Mackey, 1999; Simms, 1993; Vickers, 2000). Diversity, lauded under multicultural policies, constructs white English Canadian identity as the norm around which other identities are grouped (Mackey, 1999, 5) and allows white Canadian to retain their individuality while homogenizing the "other" (Eisenberg, 1998, 39-40). Yet, discussions of Canadian identity never fully acknowledge this fact or that multiculturalism perpetuates English Canadian dominance and cultural superiority (Eisenberg, 1998, 49-50). This trend reinforces the majority's power to construct the iden-

tities of racial and ethnic communities within "their" Canadian nation-state.

A similar trend is evident in Australia. It is not, however, framed in exactly the same manner. Australian multiculturalism policy evolved from a guiding principle, implemented in an effort to break with an assimilationist past, to being tied directly to specific government policies and programs (Jupp, 1997, 134). This then redefined multiculturalism and moved it from an ideology which allowed the preservation of ethnic identities to a tolerance of ethnicity within an overarching Australian identity and allegiance (Jupp, 1997, 136).

This notion of tolerance enabled by multiculturalism is explored by Gassan Hage (1998) who argues that the "good" multicultural nationalism, as opposed to racist "white" Australian nationalism, is actually a manifestation of a white fantasy like that of the racist "white" Australian nationalists. Like Canadian scholars, he feels that multiculturalism does nothing to change white-centred conceptions or imaginings of the nation (Hage, 1998, 23). In fact, both multiculturalists and anti-racists, who vilify racists, are clinging to the same white fantasy, only in a more sophisticated form (Hage, 1998, 23). Thus, while tolerance gives the impression of freedom, it actually serves to control the tolerated and manage their identity (Hage, 1998, 89).

Thus, multiculturalism, as implemented in both Canada and Australia, provides an interesting study of policy makers' attempts to deconstruct whites-only nationalism. These case studies highlight the key to a race regime based democratic racism: the power of the majority is assumed normal and legitimate. This is the basis, however, of democracy which further complicates the dilemma of deconstruction. Thus, through the management of cultural diversity, cohesion is sought and enforced by the state through construction of "the other" based on liberal and enlightened values of equality, which only includes the "others" if they are safe for assimilation. Meanwhile, both the dominance of the racially homogeneous majority and the oppression of others due to their ethnic diversity are ignored.

This new tolerant nationalism is based on the ideal of civic nationalism and is thus constructed as open and equal to all without racial or ethnic foundations. This is clearly not the case, however. In both Australia and Canada, the state legislated a civic nation through legislative reform, but the nation remained locked in past imaginings of great white races.

The uneven reconstruction of the nation-state perpetuates the exclusion experienced by some non-white citizens and contributes to the democratic racist regime of both countries. In short, the deconstruction of both Australia and Canada's race regimes is incomplete. Conceptions of race disappear from the lexicons of legislators and are replaced by words, such as diversity and ethnicity; however race continues to play a major role in the nation-state and contributes energy to the newly constructed race regime even if it is unspoken.

De-rac(e)ing the Nation: Building a Truly Civic Nationalism

When I began this race analysis of Canadian and Australian nationalism I set out to: 1) explore how nation-states create race, 2) show that civic nationalism can have racial and settler foundations upon which nation-states are built and reconstructed through national mediation and rounds of restructuring, and 3) show the implications of these race regimes and nationalisms on non-white citizens in both countries.

I have argued that nation-states, like Canada and Australia, created race through a dual process of imagining the nation and creating the state through nation building. These processes occur simultaneously, through mediation between the elite parliamentarians of each society, and may occur at different rates and trajectories. This is seen in both Canada and Australia where state deconstruction of racist race regimes has given rise to new race regimes. Here, we can see that Day's assertion – that current policy is a reproduction of the history of diversity through proliferation and adaptation – is true for both Canada and Australia (Day, 2000, 207). While his framework focuses solely on Canada, multiculturalism can more generally be seen as a reproduction of past failed attempts at achieving unity among ethnic groups and solving the "problem" of diversity.

Multiculturalism, however, reveals a more insidious truth surrounding civic nationalism. In the present rhetoric espoused by liberal theorists, civic nationalism is the "good" nationalism, devoid of ties to ethnicity, yet based on values of liberal equality and democracy. In contrast, this race analysis has shown that present constructions of civic nationalism in both countries were indeed based upon racial foundations of Whiteness and the ethnic exclusions of "others" in both Canada and Australia. These foundations allowed for the internal colonization and racialization of Aboriginal peoples in Canada and Blacks in Australia

and gave rise to secondary race regimes of exclusion based upon race. Even in the reconstruction of both Canadian and Australian nation-states, their civic nationalisms remained tied to ideals of a white citizenry and proceeded to manage, dominate, de-politicize, and silence the voice of non-white citizens. This process manifests itself in policy such as multiculturalism and second-class citizenship for non-whites (Abu-Laban, 1998; Bissoondath, 1993, 1994; Jupp, 1997; Senese, 2000; Vickers, 2000). The implications of these findings might also reveal interestingly similar in trends in other countries with morally upstanding civic nationalisms. What is distinct in the case of white settler societies, like Canada and Australia, is the work of mediation, which was based upon European racial orders (Stasiulis & Williams, 1992, 5).

Within Canadian and Australian contexts, non-whites are currently caught in a complex situation. While their chosen home welcomes them, they are continuously held at an arm's length by the elites in the same countries that celebrate the diversity to which they contribute as the key to their upstanding and civilized society. This contradiction, in the end, results in second-class treatment, citizenship, and feelings of exclusion which are not rectified by any nationalism currently in place. What can be done to correct this paradoxical situation?

In posing this question, I assume that there is a possibility of a truly civic nationalism. It might be more realistic, however, to adopt a spectrum from which to gauge the process of progression. Hence, it might be helpful to borrow Tim Nieguth's (1997) conception of civic and ethnic nationalism as ideal type models.⁵ As such, attaining either a fully civic or a fully ethnic nationalism would be difficult. As a result, Canada and Australia, from the evidence presented here, fall between these two models, as do many other countries. Thus, the challenge becomes one of attempting to attain a nationalism that approximates civic nationalism as much as possible.

Yet, in order to achieve this goal, I believe that we must return to the state of national imagining. For as the Canadian experience illustrates, elite driven re-imaginings of nation result in a nation-state that does not shift the foundations of the whiteness that remains at the centre of nation. Instead, power must be radically shifted and new discourses and groups given room to share in the benefits of this new nation, state, and nationalism. It is just not enough to implement new legislation and enact new politicise of tolerance or even acceptance. In this renewed space of

imagining, negotiations, similar to those carried out by the founders of both countries, will be necessary. This round of imagining, however, would be inclusive and based upon the groundwork provided by a multicultural liberal politics that exists in both countries and creates room for the formerly identified "other" to tell their truth and contribute their reality to the imagining of a new nation.

This is probably the hardest route to travel as it requires an acknowledgment of the past and the rejection of delusional structures and legislative solutions that mediate and support conflicting realities and mythologies. The process was begun in Australia as the country sought to resituate an Australian identity linked to Asia within a globalizing world (Hudson & Stokes, 1997). Even within this failed endeavour, however, the concept of race was absent. Its inclusion could have allowed for a full re-imagining or restructuring of the nation with inclusion of all Australians regardless of race. This is especially true when one considers the break with Britishness advocated by government and repositioning of Australian identity within an Asian context. This transition could then have been supported by the state through new nation-building policies to reinforce this new global positioning and Australian identity.

In Canada, the same opportunity is currently available to legislators. The current shifts in government and political thought, regarding democratic deficits, accountability, political institutions, and political participation, provides an opportune time for Canadians to address inequality and injustices entrenched in the Canadian system brought about by the new race regime. Yet again, the focus is solely on the state and rights-based initiatives rather than inclusive national imaginings or a reconstruction of the complete nation-state, leaving issues of race completely invisible.

These changes clearly require brave leadership that is truly committed to these the ideals of civic nationalism and to de-race-ing exclusionist visions of the nation from our collective memories. The changes also require full participation by all citizens in the process of imagining the nation, in keeping with notions of extensive or inclusive democracy. This, however, is not a task that can be carried out alone by one portion of the population, as has happened in the past. A first important step is for all levels of governance to acknowledge the current shortcomings of the state in granting equal rights to all citizens and truly acknowledge the

causes for these inequalities. From this point, we might be able to build Canadian and Australian nation-states and nationalisms that are truly civic.

Endnotes

1. The process of dispossession or the forcible removal of Aboriginal peoples from their lands and their confinement on small reserves of missions controlled by the state.
2. From this point forward, I will not enclose the term "race" in quotations. While I acknowledge that race is a social construct, I feel race is also a lived experience that negates the social imaginings or construction of race. Thus, the quotation marks used by many authors in the field to denote the social construction of race and problematize the term will not be used in this paper. In moving away from this trend, I hope not to reify race, but to give credence and legitimization to the lived experiences of those who confront race and racialization daily.
3. This category includes refugees, landed immigrants, and their children. The terminology is also inclusive of Canadians and Australians who have skin pigmentation other than white. As a result, this definition excludes white racialized minorities and long term residents of both countries, who again are subject to different effects from the above mentioned policies of cultural management and "race" creation. In excluding white racialized minorities, I, in no way, contend that all landed immigrants are non-white. For the purposes of this analysis, however, I believe it is important to make this distinction to witness how the creation of race differentially affects these visible "race" minorities in both Canada and Australia and the promise their inclusion holds.
4. Walby describes rounds of restructuring as a useful way of "carrying the notion of change built upon foundations which remain, and that layer upon layer of change can take place, each of which leaves its sediment which significantly affects future practices" in the process of nation-formation (1997, 190).
5. Nieguth (1997) provides categories of ethnic and civic nationalism. Ethnic nationalism is defined as "having a common character and a common culture...possessing a shared genetic connection, such that most members take themselves to be genetically similar and/or related to most other members of the group" (cited: 24). Civic nationalism "emphasizes the constructed nature of society in general and nations in particular; any cohesion and sense of belonging is rooted not in quasi-natural kinship ties, but in political arrangements which accommodate different cultural and ethnic groups" (Nieguth 1997: 24).

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Loanwords and Code-switching: Distinguishing Between Language Contact Phenomena in Ch'ol

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Abstract

Language contact phenomena, including loanwords and code-switching, have been the subject of numerous recent studies in sociolinguistics. Loanwords are words borrowed from one language for use in another, while code-switching occurs when speakers mix lexical or grammatical elements from two or more languages in a single speech act. Although numerous studies extensively examine both linguistic phenomena, the boundary between them remains unclear, leaving one to question how to distinguish loanwords from code-switching. Using data from Ch'ol, a Mayan language spoken by more than 100,000 individuals in southeastern Mexico, this paper clearly identifies the characteristics of loanwords and code-switching and outlines the differences between them. This paper argues that on the most basic level, one can distinguish loanwords and code-switching on the basis of assimilation: loanwords demonstrate phonological, morphophonemic, or lexical integration, while code-switched words and phrases do not. Secondary criteria for identifying loanwords include the use of words by speakers of varying levels of bilingualism as well as the absence of native equivalents for specific words. Code-switching is practiced only by bilingual Ch'ols. Through its analysis, this paper argues that code-switching may be indicative of emerging changes in a speaker's cultural and linguistic identity.

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Introduction

This paper examines language contact phenomena in Ch'ol, a Mayan language of southeastern Mexico, focusing specifically on lexical borrowing and code-switching. While loanwords and code-switching have been discussed by many scholars (Weinreich, 1953; Thomason and Kaufman, 1988; Romaine, 1995; Myers-Scotton, 1982, 1993; Myers-Scotton and Boloyai, 2001; Muysken 1995, 2000; Poplack 1980), the differences between them have not been clearly defined and the boundary between loanwords and code-switching remains unclear. What is a loanword, and how does it become a loanword? What is code-switching, and when does it occur? I focus on the factors that distinguish loanwords from code-switching, identifying the characteristics of each, and outlining the differences between them. The data for this study come from nine migration stories and life histories collected from Ch'ol speakers in the states of Chiapas and Campeche, Mexico. I combine existing definitions of loanwords and code-switching to explain Spanish interference in Ch'ol, and to argue that loanwords of Spanish origin can be distinguished from code-switching on the basis of assimilation. Loanwords have been assimilated into the Ch'ol lexicon, while code-switched words and phrases have not. This assimilation manifests itself in the incorporation of many loans in the native phonological and lexical systems and in the widespread usage of loaned words throughout the speech of all Ch'ol speakers. Loanwords become "native" terms, and may be recognized as such by native Ch'ol speakers. I examine both how and why words of Spanish origin become incorporated into the native Ch'ol lexicon, as this is necessary to distinguish loanwords from code-switching. I propose that loanwords begin as a form of intrasentential code-switching, and become loanwords once they are adopted by all Ch'ol speakers, including monolingual Ch'ol speakers. Code-switched words and phrases, on the other hand, are used exclusively by Ch'ol bilinguals. As a result, I argue that code-switching depends on a speaker's level of bilingualism, as only Ch'ol bilinguals code-switch. Code-switching is influenced by the degree of outside contact a speaker has experienced, and may represent emerging changes in a speaker's linguistic and cultural identity.

Language Contact

The effects of language contact, including bilingualism, lexical borrowing, and language interference, have been the focus of extensive

research in the field of sociolinguistics. Cultural and linguistic changes occur when languages come into contact with one another and remain in contact for extended periods of time. The degree of contact-induced change that a language experiences is relative to the intensity of the contact situation (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988:67). Contact situations lasting for long periods of time are likely to induce change because of a speech community's continuous exposure to a foreign language. Language contact may also lead to the emergence of dominant and subordinate languages, which correspond to the establishment of politically dominant and subordinate groups. In situations of contact, each language obtains its own value, though speakers usually regard the dominant language as prestigious and associate it with a higher social value. While both languages influence each other in any situation of contact, the dominant language frequently exhibits stronger influence over the subordinate language, a situation that leads to increased bilingualism in the dominant language among the subordinate population, as well as in linguistic changes in the subordinate language itself (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988:67). These changes first manifest themselves in lexical borrowing, followed later by structural borrowing. Thomason and Kaufman (1988:80) note that Amerindian languages demonstrate a high degree of lexical borrowing as well as some structural borrowing.

Situations of language contact often lead to bilingualism as a result of the need to communicate across languages. Bilingualism gives speakers resources that are not available to monolingual speakers, resources with which they are able to construct socially meaningful verbal interactions. Understanding both the bilingual community and the bilingual individual is essential when considering the connection between bilingualism and language contact. Societal bilingualism occurs when the general population of a community is bilingual in the same two languages (Baetens Beardsmore, 1986:4), and is created by the linguistic forces acting on the community as a whole, including the political, economic, social, and cultural relationships between the languages. Individual bilingualism differs from societal bilingualism in that the individual's entire speech community is not necessarily bilingual. In situations of language contact, bilingual individuals possess personal motivations for becoming bilingual, and may act as mediators or translators between language groups in order to gain personal status (Baetens Beardsmore, 1986:4).

In his classic work on language contact, Weinreich (1953) relates the way in which speakers learn languages to bilingualism, defining coordinate and compound bilingualism. Coordinate bilingualism occurs when a speaker learns each language in a separate environment, thereby distinguishing between them cognitively, and maintaining each language as separate from the other (Weinreich, 1953:9-11). In compound bilingualism, a speaker learns both languages simultaneously, and uses them in the same contexts. Since they are interdependent, these languages become cognitively intermixed, and the speaker has difficulty distinguishing between them. The distinction between these two forms of bilingualism elucidates not only how bilinguals manage language, but also the interaction between languages that can result in language interference.

Scholars have used the term “language interference” to refer to the influence of one language on another in situations of language contact (Weinreich, 1953; Diebold, 1961), as well as to refer specifically to code-switching among bilingual speakers (Weinreich, 1953; Romaine, 1995). In its general application, language interference is “those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e., as a result of language contact” (Weinreich, 1953:1). Types of general language interference include lexical borrowing, or “loanwords”, structural and grammatical borrowing, phonological assimilation, and code-switching (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988; Weinreich, 1953; Romaine, 1995; Muysken 2000). In this study, I focus on lexical borrowing and code-switching, and touch indirectly on phonological assimilation as it relates to loanwords.

“Borrowing” refers to a process in which one language acquires some lexical or structural property from another language (Verbeeck, 1998:22). Integration, or borrowing, is “the incorporation of foreign features into a group’s native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features” (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988:37). Lexical borrowing involves the adoption of words from one language by another language. These words thus become loanwords, and they thereby extend the vocabulary of the adopted language (Muysken 2000:69-70). Although content words are among the first words that a language adopts as loanwords (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988:74), Brody (1987:507)

documents the widespread usage in Mayan languages of function words borrowed from Spanish, including conjunctions and adverbs, particles, interrogatives, and hesitation markers. As they become incorporated into new lexicons, loanwords often undergo phonological, morphological, and grammatical changes, as well as some changes in meaning, thereby demonstrating assimilation into the borrowing language's system.

Motivations for lexical borrowing are dependent on contact situations. Words may be initially borrowed for prestige reasons, so that a speaker may demonstrate some knowledge of, or competence in, the dominant language. Though the notion of language prestige is problematic, I use this term to refer to a language that is associated with high social value within a particular speech community. Speakers hope to increase their personal social statuses by using the politically and/or socially dominant language during contact with outgroup members. Amerindian languages also adopt loanwords for items and concepts introduced to indigenous groups by the Spanish, as Verbeeck (1998:31) demonstrates for Mopan Maya. Brown (1994:96-97) presents a list of 77 words for introduced items that have been adopted by indigenous languages throughout the New World, including the words for "apple," "cheese," and "mule."

In addition to loanwords, language interference also manifests itself through code-switching, or the mixing of codes or languages. Gumperz (1982:59) defines code-switching as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or sub-systems". Code-switching often involves changes in grammar as well as lexicon (Muysken 2000:70), and exists in several different forms: intersentential, intrasentential, and tag-switching. MacSwan (1999:109-113) documents the frequent use of intersentential switching, which typically occurs at sentence or clause boundaries in Amerindian languages, like Nahuatl. Intrasentential switching includes the mixing of codes within a clause, for example, when a sentence is interspersed with words from another language (Romaine, 1995:122-123). Often, speakers interject single words or word phrases from one language in the speech of another language. Tag switching refers to the insertion of tag phrases from one language in another.

Speakers must possess a certain degree of proficiency in more than one language in order to code-switch, since code-switching involves the insertion of appropriate words or phrases from a second language (Muysken 2000; Poplack 1980:615). Muysken (2000:2) argues that speakers who code-switch in daily speech are most often proficient bilinguals who demonstrate fluency in two or more languages. As a result of this proficiency, speakers incorporate both lexical and grammatical elements from each language in their speech. The extensive body of literature on code-switching explores these elements, analyzing when and how speakers code-switch during specific discourse events. Reviewing the work of numerous earlier scholars, Muysken (1995, 2000) examines the lexical and grammatical components of code-switching, stating that three distinct processes explain the types of language interference that manifest themselves in different speech events: insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization. Practicing "insertion," speakers sometimes insert a word or entire lexical phrase from one language into the structure of another (Muysken 2000:3). In other code-switching events, speakers practice "alternation," by mixing one language's lexicon and grammatical structure with those of another (Muysken 2000:4). When alternating between languages, speakers only switch codes a point in a sentence where the "juxtaposition of L_1 and L_2 elements does not violate a surface syntactic rule of either language" (Poplack 1980:581). Poplack (1980) explores this phenomenon, presenting the equivalence constraint model of code-switching, stating that individuals switch between languages only at points in which the switch can maintain the grammaticality of both languages and fits in the structures of both languages involved. As a result, speakers mix codes without violating the grammatical rules of either language. In other speech situations, speakers engage in "congruent lexicalization" when they merge words from distinct languages into a new, shared grammatical structure, emerging from the interaction of two distinct grammatical systems, as Muysken (2000:19) describes for Media Quechua speakers in Ecuador. These studies significantly advance our understanding of code-switching by examining the linguistic factors that govern code-switching speech events.

Within the extensive body of literature on code-switching, numerous scholars also focus on the social phenomena that influence a speaker's

use of code-switching, examining why speakers code-switch in specific speech events. Although code-switching sometimes occurs as the unconscious and natural result of language interaction, numerous studies suggest that bilingual individuals often practice code-switching in order to demonstrate personal relationships, rights, and obligations during a single speech event. Participants as well as the social context, such as location or type of event, govern each speech event (Bauman and Sherzer, 1975:163). In situational switching, the alternation of languages is dependent on components of the speech event, including topic, participants, or setting (Baetens Beardsmore, 1986:49). A change in the components of the speech event often triggers a switch in codes. Situational switching is also occurs because certain topics lend themselves to the use of one language over another.

Code-switching also depends on the social relationships between speakers as often, it allows speakers to ally themselves with the members of one or more linguistic groups, showing solidarity and negotiating relationships (Myers-Scotton, 1982). The Rational Choice Model of Code-switching, proposed by Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001:5), states that code-switching serves as a direct and conscious response to society and social interaction. This model argues that "assumptions of preferences and intentions, and operates on perceived opportunities" motivates speakers to code-switch (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai, 2001:5). In other words, individuals code-switch as a result of perceived opportunities to enhance status, to forge new relationships, or to strengthen existing relationships. The switch between codes, or the choice of one code over another, may also depend on the degree of social intimacy that speakers have with one another or the level of formality associated with the speech event, as Rubin (1968) demonstrates in the alternation between Guaraní and Spanish in Paraguay. In other instances, code-switching gives speakers the "flexibility of expression" needed to overcome the difficulties of sentence-planning by allowing them to use resources from more than one language (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai, 2001:5).

Speakers also use code-switching to create privacy or social distance. The speaker may use a switch in codes to create social distance from outgroup members and distinguish himself by speaking a language that others do not understand, as Dozier (1956:150) documents for the Tewa of New Mexico. The choice of one code over another may give the

speaker privacy in public settings. He may switch codes in order to speak more freely and to ensure the privacy of his conversation. In other instances, a speaker may choose one code over another in situations in which that language is dominant and is considered to be prestigious. The desire to elevate one's status may motivate a speaker to code-switch in order to demonstrate knowledge of the dominant language in contact situations. Since the contact period, Spanish has served as the dominant language of Latin America, and as a result, indigenous peoples throughout the region have considered it to be a powerful code worthy of emulation and use in situations of contact with non-indigenous groups or individuals (Brody, 1987:509; Verbeeck, 1998:16).

The desire to demonstrate ethnic and linguistic identity also motivate the use of code-switching in bilingual speakers. In its most basic sense, ethnic identity is based on cultural criteria that differentiate one group of people from others (Barth, 1969:11). Linguistic identity is linked to a speaker's ethnicity, and refers to the symbols and speech conventions that are characteristic of a particular group (Gumperz, 1982:6). By using these symbols, a speaker signals his membership in a particular cultural or social group (Torras and Garafanga, 2002:545). Linguistic changes often indicate changes in one's linguistic identity, since the use of language, or of different codes, may act as a linguistic boundary that separates one group of speakers from others (Urciuoli, 1995:538-539). This boundary often shapes the linguistic identity of bilingual speakers, separating them from monolingual speakers, as Bailey (2000:563) suggests is the case for Dominican-American Spanish-English bilinguals. By using language to mark one's ethnic identity, speakers may act as agents of social change, and use their behavior in order to shape, define, and create social realities.

A large part of the research on language interference has focused on distinguishing loanwords from code-switching. Haugen (1956) first proposed a distinction between lexical integration (lexical borrowing) and interference (code-switching), terms that were later adopted by other scholars in their discussions of language contact phenomena (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988; Romaine, 1995; Verbeeck, 1998). According to his model, loanwords vary from code-switching on the basis of integration: lexical borrowings became "integrated" in native lexical systems while code-switched words did not. Integrated words often demonstrated phonological, morphological, and syntactic changes. Myers-Scotton

(1993:165), however, argues against these ideas and suggests that the primary criterion that should be used in separating the two is frequency of occurrence; any word that appears at least three times in a corpus of data is a loanword (Myers-Scotton, 1993:207). Both of these suggestions are included in Poplack and Sankoff's model, which argues that loanwords can also be characterized by "native-synonym displacement," or the displacement of a native term by a loan, and "acceptability," or the recognition by native speakers that a word is an acceptable and integrated part of the native lexicon (1984:103-104).

Muysken's (1995, 2000) definitions of alternation and congruent lexicalization also aid in establishing the differences between loanwords from code-switching, as these processes serve as important criteria for separating the two language contact phenomena. For example, since alternation and congruent lexicalization occur as the result of interference on a grammatical level, they indicate that a speaker is code-switching, as they mark a speaker's use of two or more languages. As a result, when linguistic analysis reveals these processes at work in a particular speech act, one can identify the presence of foreign words as code-switching, rather than lexical borrowings. However, this distinction is not as clear in the process of insertion, which deals with intrasentential switches, when speakers insert a single word or phrase of words into the given structure of another language. Since this process occurs at a lexical rather than grammatical level, it can be indicative of both lexical borrowings and code-switches (Muysken 1995:180). As a result, the notion of insertion further blurs the line between loanwords and code-switching, by ignoring the social phenomena that shape these linguistic practices.

In recent publications, numerous scholars comment that the boundary between these language contact phenomena remains unclear despite this extensive body of literature. Torres (2002:78) documents this problem in her analysis of bilingual discourse markers in Puerto Rican Spanish. Torres concludes that it is difficult to determine whether discourse markers act as loans or as code-switching in the speech of Puerto Rican bilinguals. In discussing the integration of certain loanwords in other languages, Muysken (2000:71) emphasizes the difficulty of distinguishing loans from code-switching, stating that "we really have no criteria to determine whether it [a word] is code-mixing or borrowing." When I first began my research on Ch'ol, I also experienced this confusion, find-

ing difficulty in separating loanwords from code-switching. The question remains: how does one determine if a non-native word is a loan or if it represents code-switching? I argue that in order to separate lexical borrowings from code-switches and clarify the distinction between them, one must not analyze only the linguistic elements of code-switching and borrowing, as Muysken (1995, 2000) does, but rather consider both the social as well as linguistic factors that influence these language contact phenomena.

Data and Methodology

My research is part of a growing corpus of knowledge in the field of sociolinguistics, more specifically in the ethnography of speaking (Hymes, 1962; Bauman and Sherzer, 1974), since I focus on the variables associated with certain speech acts and events. The data for this study were collected during the summers of 2001 and 2002, as part of a larger project studying the Ch'ol Diaspora in the states of Chiapas and Campeche, Mexico (Hopkins, 2002). I gathered data through ethnographic research and recorded interviews that enabled me to analyze language interference, both generally and specifically, in the speech of a diverse sample of Ch'ol speakers. The interviews were generally conducted in Ch'ol, and extensive Spanish influence was noted throughout.

A part of the Greater Ch'olan language family (Kaufman 1976), Ch'ol is spoken widely throughout the states of Chiapas and Campeche, Mexico, by more than 100,000 speakers (Hopkins, 1995:61). The majority of the Ch'ol population is concentrated in Chiapas, in the large highland towns of Tila, Tumbalá, and Sabanilla, an area that has been considered the Ch'ol homeland since Spanish contact in the mid-sixteenth century (Hopkins, 1995:63). The *municipios*, or "counties" of Salto de Agua and Palenque in the Chiapas lowlands are also home to many Ch'ol settlements. Although the Ch'ols have been in close contact with Spanish language and culture since the colonial period, they have remained both culturally and linguistically strong. A large percentage of the Ch'ol population is still monolingual, especially in Tila and Tumbalá, where Ch'ol is the dominant language and many *ladinos* (the local term for non-indigenous individuals) learn Ch'ol in order to communicate. In Tumbalá, Ch'ol children attend bilingual schools where they are taught in both Ch'ol and Spanish. Ch'ol is spoken during community meetings in both the ejidos and the highland centers, and the mayors

(and most other officials) of both Tila and Tumbalá are native Ch'ol speakers. Speakers also use Ch'ol in meetings with the *Instituto Nacional Indígena*, the National Indigenous Institute, or "INI," the agency created by the Mexican government to protect and promote indigenous rights. Ch'ols put great emphasis on the ability to speak well, paying great respect to the verbal arts, including the ability to tell folktales (Hopkins, 1995:66). This respect extends to Ch'ols bilingual or multilingual in Spanish or other Mayan languages, such as Tzotzil or Tzeltal, also spoken in highland Chiapas (Kathryn Josserand, personal communication).

During the past twenty-five years, several thousand Ch'ol speakers have left Chiapas, migrating to new areas where they have resettled. Today, over two-dozen Ch'ol communities have been established in the Xpujil region of the state of Campeche, Mexico, in the newly formed municipio of Calakmul. The increasing land shortage experienced in Chiapas motivated these migrations, which were also facilitated by the *ejido* system, implemented following the Mexican revolution (Hopkins, 1985:4). In the *ejido* system, land is awarded to a specified number of heads of families, who collectively hold the rights to the land. Until recently, this land could not be bought or sold, and the *ejido* system requires that the rights to land may only be passed down to one child (Hopkins, 1995:64). The fact that many Ch'ols do not inherit *ejido* lands has forced them to relocate, since they are subsistence farmers that rely on the land in order to support themselves.

Research on Ch'ol and other Mayan languages has revealed the existence of many distinct genres of speech (Bricker, 1974; Gossen, 1974, 1999). This paper's focus on migration narratives and life histories proves interesting for exploring the distinction between loanwords and code-switching. In contrast to other genres of Ch'ol speech, such as folktales (Alejos García, 1988; Whittaker and Warkentin, 1965), political discourse (Alejos García, 1994), ritual language (Pérez Chacón, 1988), jokes, and prayers (Meneses, 1986), migration narratives and life histories reveal personal information about speakers' lives. Hopkins and Josserand (1990) and Altman (1996) have described variations in the structure and use of Ch'ol associated with different genres of speech. The analysis of language integration and interference that I present in this paper is based exclusively on Ch'ol migration narratives and life

histories, and should be considered representative only of this specific genre of speech.

Ch'ol migration narratives begin with what Hopkins (2002) calls "an emerging migration mythology" that tells of a land shortage and of a difficult journey to find new land. Speakers relate the challenges faced in establishing new communities and in settling new areas. They often discuss their childhood as well as their adult lives, and comment on education, family, religion, and involvement in the government and in governmental affairs. Events are not necessarily presented chronologically in the narratives, though these narratives typically end when speakers finish presenting the details of their current living situation.

We collected the migration narratives and life histories of nine Ch'ol speakers in an interview format in which speakers were asked to recount their own personal histories as well as the histories of their families and their towns. Most of the speakers that we interviewed were Ch'ol-Spanish bilinguals, though the narrative of one monolingual Ch'ol speaker was recorded. We recorded all but one of the interviews in the informants' homes in a familial setting; often, family members were present. One interview was recorded in the informant's office in a private room, with only the informant herself and the researchers present. When possible, we recorded interviews using a standard tape recorder, a DAT recorder, and a digital video recorder. While one member of our research team was a Spanish-Ch'ol bilingual, the rest of us were Spanish-English bilinguals who possess varied levels of ability in Ch'ol.

The sample of Ch'ol speakers I use in this study is varied in terms of geographical region, age, ethnicity, and bilingual ability. I include speakers from both highland and lowland Chiapas in the sample, as well as speakers from the new Ch'ol communities in Campeche. Speakers' ages ranged from 25 to 65 years old, and both men and women were interviewed. Both Ch'ol and ladino bilinguals, as well as a Ch'ol monolingual, were recorded in order to investigate the connection between ethnicity and degree of language interference.

Table 1 presents a list of the speakers with their demographic information. This table is arranged according to the speaker's bilingual ability. I first present the monolingual informant, followed by the Ch'ol Spanish-bilinguals who are ethnically Ch'ol. Finally, I list the bilingual ladinos included in this sample.

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of Ch'ol Informants

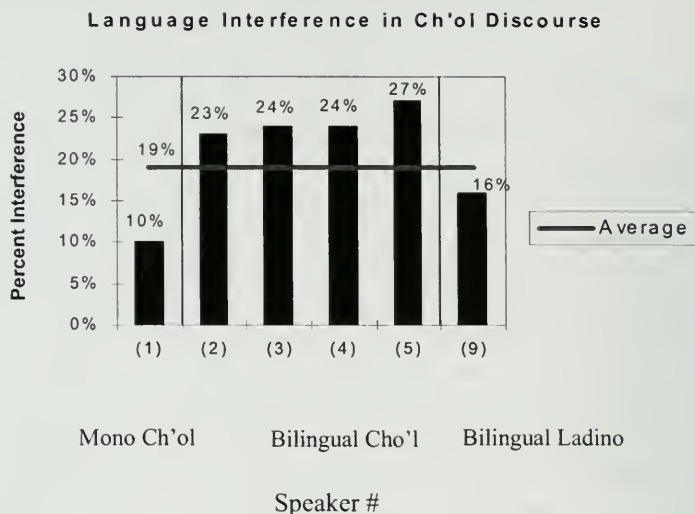
No.	Initials	Sex	Age	Location	Personal Information
1	JTL	F	40	La Cascada, Chiapas	Monolingual Ch'ol Married to Ch'ol
2	MSG	F	25	Chichonal, Campeche	Bilingual Ch'ol Married to Ch'ol Politically active Learned languages simultaneously
3	MSM	M	60	Chichonal, Campeche	Bilingual Ch'ol Married to Ch'ol
4	AMT	M	65	Arroyo Negro, Campeche	Bilingual Ch'ol Married to Ch'ol Politically active
5	RLV	M	65	La Cascada, Chiapas	Bilingual Ch'ol Married to ladina Community founder
6	AGV	M	35	Justo Sierra, Campeche	Bilingual Ch'ol Married to Ch'ol Politically active
7	JPM	F	24	Tumbalá, Chiapas	Bilingual Ch'ol Frequent contact w/ ladino culture Learned languages simultaneously
8	ASH	F	55	Tumbalá, Chiapas	Bilingual ladina Married to Ch'ol Learned languages simultaneously
9	ACG	M	65	Palenque, Chiapas	Bilingual ladino Married to ladina Learned languages simultaneously

In an attempt to determine how one can distinguish loanwords from code-switching, I listened carefully to each narrative, noting every instance of Spanish interference, including both single words and phrases. I conducted a simple statistical analysis of the number of Span-

ish-derived words in relation to the number of total words in each narrative to gauge the extent of general language integration and interference present in each sample of Ch'ol speech. I then grouped all the instances of each word to determine the contexts in which they were used and to see if their usage was widespread. Spanish words used across geographical regions as well as by speakers of varied bilingual ability were then analyzed for phonological assimilation and were classified according to semantic domain. My next step was to determine if these words had Ch'ol equivalents. I also used the *Diccionario Ch'ol-Español* (Aulie and Aulie, 1978) and *Säkläji 'b Ty'añ Ch'ol*, a monolingual Ch'ol dictionary (Montejo López, Rubén López et al., 2001), to determine what words of Spanish origin were considered to be "normal" Ch'ol vocabulary. I compiled a list of assimilated loans, or loans demonstrating the use of Ch'ol phonology, widespread usage, and, often, the absence of Ch'ol equivalents, from the data collected from both the narratives and the dictionaries. I compared over 200 assimilated words to the other words of Spanish origin not included in the list to identify the characteristics that make them distinct, and to determine ways in which lexical borrowings are distinct from code-switching. Numerous examples of both intrasentential and intersentential code-switching occurred in these narratives, though I focus on mostly on insertions, or intrasentential switching in this analysis, as they are the most relevant to the question of distinguishing loanwords from code-switching.

Analysis

The number of words of Spanish origin present in the migration narratives provides an estimate of general language interference in Ch'ol speech. Nine speakers were included in my overall study, but only the narratives of Speakers 1-5 and Speaker 9 could be included in this calculation because the other interviews had not been fully transcribed. As a result, the sample used for this calculation includes one monolingual Ch'ol, four Ch'ol bilinguals, and one bilingual ladino. Nevertheless, although I include only one monolingual Ch'ol and one bilingual ladino in my formal analysis due to the limitations of the speech samples we collected in the field, my informal observations of other monolingual Ch'ols and bilingual ladinos while in Mexico support the results of my analysis.¹



The overall percentage of Spanish-derived words in this Ch'ol sample was 19%. Ch'ol bilinguals exhibited between 23% and 27% interference, a figure above the average. The Ch'ol monolingual interviewed exhibited only 10% interference, while the bilingual ladino demonstrated 16%, both figures under the 19% average (Table 2). The high percentage of interference in the speech of Ch'ol bilinguals reflects more extensive contact with ladino and Mexican national culture; bilingual Ch'ols also engage in more code-switching behavior than monolingual Ch'ols and bilingual ladinos, a phenomenon I will discuss in greater detail in the following section.

Phonological and Lexical Assimilation of Loans

Words of Spanish origin used in Ch'ol usually demonstrate assimilation to Ch'ol phonological patterns. The absence of specific phonemes in Ch'ol that are present in Spanish causes certain borrowed words to undergo phonological change during the process of integration into Ch'ol lexicon. Words that exhibit assimilation may be considered integrated loanwords when they show a regular shift from the Spanish phonological system to the Ch'ol phonological system, thereby indicating that they have become part of the "native" lexicon. The words I have

identified as loanwords show a regular shift from the Spanish phonological system to Ch'ol phonology in the speech of all speakers. For example, in Ch'ol, the Spanish phoneme /f/ regularly changes to /p/ or /hw/² (Koob, 1979:113). The Spanish word /finka/ 'farm', becomes /pinka/ in Ch'ol, and /kafé/ 'coffee', becomes /kahwe/. The Spanish /g/ often devoices, and becomes /k/ or is replaced by /w/ during the process of assimilation (Koob, 1979:113), as seen in changes from the Spanish /ganar/ to the Ch'ol /kanar/ 'to earn', /iglesia/ to /klesia/ 'church', and /amigo/ to /amiwo/ 'friend'. Other changes are seen in the reduction of Spanish /bw/ to /w/ in borrowed words like /weno/(</bweno/) 'good', and in the change from Spanish /d/ to Ch'ol /r/ or /l/ (Koob 1979:114) in /karena/(</kadena/), 'chain', and /pale/(</padre/) 'father'. In general, vowels remain the same in borrowed words, though a shift from Spanish /o/ to Ch'ol /u/ following /r/ (Koob, 1979:113) can be seen in the assimilation of Spanish words like /puro/ 'pure', /aros/ 'rice', and /litro/ 'liter', to /puru/, /'arus/, and /litru/.

Considering the age of Spanish-derived words used in Ch'ol is also useful in identifying a word as a loanword. Loans adopted during the Spanish-contact period reflect colonial Spanish pronunciation, thereby signaling their early incorporation into Ch'ol lexicon. At the time of contact, the Spanish orthographic <ll>, now /y/, was pronounced as palatalized /lʲ/ (Canfield, 1962:70). This phenomenon is demonstrated by the Ch'ol word /kučilu/ 'knife', now /kučiyu/ in modern Spanish. Canfield (1962:72) also states that the modern Spanish phoneme /x/³, now a voiceless velar fricative, was pronounced as /š/ in all dialects of sixteenth century Spanish. This observation may be evidence for the early incorporation of words like /'alašaš/ from /naranšas/ 'oranges', /kaša/ from /kaša/ 'box', and /šapom/ from /šabon/ 'soap'. Colonial Spanish retroflex /s/ may also be replaced by /š/, as seen in /borša/, derived from /bolsa/ 'bag', and in /wakaš/, derived from /bakas/ 'cows'.⁴ Another important phonological difference that must be noted is that during the contact period, the aspirated /h/, which has dropped out of modern Spanish, was still pronounced (Canfield, 1962:73). This idea that explains the fact that /h/ is still pronounced as a voiceless vocoid in the Ch'ol form of /hača/, now Spanish /ača/, or 'axe'.

Borrowed Spanish words also assimilate to Ch'ol morphology and word structure during the process of integration, becoming more like

Ch'ol words and less like their original Spanish forms. Ch'ol word roots most often take the shape of CVC. Few consonant clusters exist, and certain clusters are not tolerated in Ch'ol. Borrowed Spanish words that have become integrated loanwords assimilate, dropping non-Ch'ol characteristics during the process of integration into the Ch'ol lexicon. For example, in Ch'ol, the Spanish word /*alkalde*/ 'mayor', has become /*ahkal*/, /*kristiano*/ 'Christian' has become /*kišt'ano*/, and /*ermano*/ 'brother', has become /*eran*/, each word losing one of its consonant clusters. In doing so, each word has adapted to a form that is more typical of Ch'ol. These changes, as well as the phonological changes mentioned above, represent linguistic syncretism. Loanwords are thus merged with the native phonological system and native lexicon, and for this reason, are often not identified as distinct or different from native words by the speakers of that language. Ch'ol speakers may not recognize Spanish loanwords as having Spanish origin; instead, they may consider these words to be Ch'ol words as a result of their assimilation and integration into the native Ch'ol lexicon.

Loanwords also contrast with code-switching based on the fact that they are used by speakers with different degrees of bilingualism, thereby demonstrating widespread use. I grouped the words of Spanish origin used in Ch'ol according to semantic domains that I selected in order to analyze the frequency with which words of Spanish origin are used as well as to look at the meanings of borrowed words. I organized these words into thirteen domains: kin terms, numbers and measurements, government, education, religion, plants, animals, other introduced items, domestic life, function words, discourse markers, adjectives, and verbs. Words of Spanish origin from each of these domains are used by many Ch'ol speakers, regardless of their bilingual ability. Their usage is widespread, and they are used by monolingual Ch'ol speakers as well as by bilingual Ch'ols and bilingual *ladinos* during many different speech events. The adoption of these words is motivated by specific social and cultural factors, including the introduction of new items into Ch'ol life. Identifying the reasons why specific words or classes of words are borrowed into Ch'ol further clarifies the criteria for distinguishing loanwords from code-switching (Table 3).

Table 3: Selected Loanwords Used by all Ch'ol Speakers

Ch'ol	Spanish	English
ajkal	alcalde	mayor
amiwo	amigo	friend
anka	aunque	although
día	día	day
ejido	ejido	ejido
eran	hermano	brother
kaxlan	castellano	Spanish
kawayu	caballo	horse
kaša	kaja	box
ke	que	that
kistyano	cristiano	Christian
klesia	iglesia	church
ko	como	like/how
kuchilu	cuchillo	knife
kumarej	comadre	comadre
kumparee	compadre	compadre
maestru	maestro	maestro
mama	mama	mother
ora	ahora	now
pašyo	falso	false
pensalin	pensar	to think/to be sad
peru	pero	but
pinca	finca	farm
porke	porque	because/why
pos	pues	well
puru	puro	pure
solo	solo	only
tose	entonces	then
tyempo	tiempo	time
wakax	vacas	cows
weñ	bien	fine/good
yorajlel	hora	hour

Many function words and discourse markers as well as words used in everyday domestic life can be identified as loanwords based on the fact that they are used by all Ch'ol speakers, regardless of bilingual ability.

Twenty-four function words of Spanish origin, including /peru/ 'but', /porke/ 'because', /ke/ 'that', /por/ 'by', /kyen/ 'who', /donde/ 'where' and several variations of /komo/ 'how', are used regularly throughout Ch'ol speech. Seven discourse markers, including /entonse/ 'therefore' or 'then', /este/ 'um', and /weno/ 'well', also demonstrated widespread usage. The fact that these words are used repeatedly by different speakers in different speech events, and that they are used by monolingual Ch'ols with limited knowledge of Spanish demonstrates their incorporation into the Ch'ol lexicon as integrated loanwords.

Words pertaining to domestic life may have initially been incorporated into Ch'ol since they are common words that speakers use frequently in daily speech. If speakers initially borrowed words for prestige reasons to demonstrate knowledge of and competence in the dominant language, Spanish, words used in daily life may have been among the first words borrowed. In this sample, I observed 22 words of Spanish origin for household items, common everyday objects, and essential elements of Ch'ol life, including /limetʔon/(</limetón/) 'large jug', /latʔu/(</plato/)⁵ 'plate', kusina(</kosina/) 'kitchen', /rebus/(</reboso/) 'shawl', /hente/(</xente/) 'people', /awada/(</awada/) 'water hole'. Their prominence and regular usage throughout Spanish discourse enables speakers to become familiar with them, which allows these words to be easily adopted from Spanish. These words often act as synonyms for existing native words, and sometimes exhibit slightly altered meanings from their native equivalents.

The regular use of common verbs and adjectives in Spanish discourse may cause these words to become loanwords. I identify these words as loanwords based on the fact that they occur regularly throughout the speech of Ch'ol speakers and are used by monolingual as well by bilingual speakers. These words appear in all contexts, when speakers address daily life, family life, or their personal histories. These words also may have become integrated as loanwords originally as a result of speakers' desire to demonstrate their ability to speak Spanish, the dominant language and thereby enhance personal status. Among the adjectives are /weñ/ 'well' or 'fine', derived from the Spanish /byen/, /payšo/ 'false', from the Spanish /falso/, /todo/ 'all', /solo/ 'only', and /malo/ 'bad'. Ten common verbs, including /solisitar/ 'to request', /kanar/ 'to earn', /sufrir/ 'to suffer', and /mantener/ 'to maintain', are also loan-

words. When borrowed, however, these many verbs do not appear alone, but rather are used with auxiliary verbs, as seen in the following example from Speaker 4.

Tza kaj ksolisitarin klum....

Tza' kaj-0 k-solisitar-in k-lum...

Com vin-B3 A1-vtr-suf ls-n

I began to solicit my land...

Many of these verbs, including /pensalin/, from the Spanish /pensar/ and /solisitarin/ from the Spanish /solisitar/ demonstrate regular morphophonemic integration in Ch'ol discourse, as they take the /-in/ verbal ending used by derived intransitive verbs in Ch'ol. /Pensarin/ exhibits complete integration into Ch'ol lexicon as it takes on a new meaning in Ch'ol. In Spanish, /pensar/ means 'to think' while in Ch'ol it means 'to be sad' (Aulie and Aulie, 1978:92).

Words that have no native equivalents can also be identified as loanwords as opposed to code-switching if they demonstrate widespread usage and are used by speakers with varying degrees of bilingualism. These words usually correspond to the introduction of new items of material culture, ideologies, or rituals and religious beliefs, and become loanwords as a result of the absence of native terms for these items. Like function words and discourse markers, these words of Spanish origin are used by all Ch'ol speakers, regardless of their bilingual ability. Eight of the thirteen identified domains include words for new items that were introduced into Ch'ol culture through Spanish contact, and for this reason, are words that have no Ch'ol equivalents.

Kin terms and numerical terminology have become loanwords because the introduction of these new linguistic terms corresponds to a shift in these systems. Since Spanish kin and numerical systems were introduced during the contact period and indigenous peoples throughout the region acculturated to these new and dominant systems (Hopkins, 1988:104), their corresponding linguistic terms were adopted by Ch'ols at this early date, becoming integrated into the native lexicon. The shift from the traditional Ch'ol kin system to a system more like that used by the Spanish (Hopkins, 1988:104; Hopkins, 1995:64) is reflected linguistically in the adoption of sixteen kin terms, including blood kin, (/mama/ 'mama', /papa/ 'papa', /eran/ 'brother', /ermana/ 'sister') and "fictional"

kin (/komare/ 'godmother', /kompare/ 'godfather'), as well as friendship (/amiwo/). Contact with ladino culture also resulted in the change from a traditional vigesimal numerical system to the Spanish decimal system. Spanish numbers terms have replaced the native Ch'ol number terms: during my research, I noted that many speakers cannot count above ten in Ch'ol and that they almost exclusively use Spanish numbers when speaking. I also observed 12 borrowed words referring to units of time and measurements, including /anyo/ 'year', /dia/ 'day', /yorahle/ 'hour', /t'empo/ 'time', /litru/ 'liter', /lewa/ 'league', and /kilometru/ 'kilometer'. The adoption of these terms corresponded to the shift from the traditional Maya calendric system to the Gregorian calendar and European conceptions of time, also introduced throughout the Maya region during the contact period.

The Spanish and ladino governments also imposed new systems of education, government, and religion on Ch'ol speakers, and as a result, Spanish terms have been adopted and integrated into Ch'ol lexicon in order to refer to these systems. These systems themselves, as well as the ideologies behind them, were introduced to Ch'ol life through contact with ladino culture. I observed seven loaned education terms in my sample. Since the children of most Ch'ol towns attend government-run schools, words of Spanish origin, like /maestro/ 'teacher', /estudiar/ 'to study', /eskwela/ 'school', and /profesor/ 'professor', are an essential part of Ch'ol vocabulary. Among the 19 terms for governmental offices, positions, and land distribution used in my sample are /presidente/ 'president', /hwes/ 'judge', /munisipio/ 'county', /kolonia/ 'colony', /ehido/ 'ejido', and /ofisina/ 'office', all concepts that were introduced to the Ch'ols by the Mexican government. The introduction of Christianity, primarily the Catholicism of the colonial period, led to the integration of new Spanish religious terminology into the Ch'ol lexicon. I noted the use of 16 religious terms in my sample, many of which refer to Catholic practices and beliefs, including /kostumbre/ 'custom', /rus/ 'cross', /espíritu/ 'spirit', /resal/ 'to pray', and /birhen/ 'virgin'.

Contact with the Spanish also introduced to Ch'ol daily life plants and animals not native to the New World, as well new material items and technologies. Continued contact with ladino and Mexican national culture has brought new technologies like electricity to Ch'ol communities. Eight plant terms, five animal terms, and 15 words for other introduced items were regularly used in this sample. All of these words are loan-

words that represent items introduced by Spanish contact. No native terms exist for these items. Plant names include /alašaš/ 'oranges', /arus/ 'rice', /kahpe/ 'coffee', and /limon/ 'lemon', all Old World plants, while the introduced animal names are /kayo/ 'rooster', /kayina/ 'hen', /kaw-ayū/ 'horse', and /poyo/ 'chicken'. Loaned terms for other introduced items and technologies include /mačitʷ/ 'machete', /šapom/ 'soap', /kumpleʷanyo/ 'birthday', /kas/ 'gas', and /lus/ 'electricity'.

My analysis of language contact phenomena in Ch'ol also reveals the emergence of a new semantic domain of Spanish words, "Progress Words", which Ch'ol bilinguals use throughout their migration narratives. This domain includes words that refer to the ideology of technological development, advancement, and progress that has come from contact with the Mexican government and governmental programs. Progress words presently occupy a liminal position in Ch'ol discourse, as they no longer occur merely as the result of code-switching, but have yet to become a fully integrated part of the Ch'ol lexicon. This lack of integration manifests itself in the fact that only politically active bilingual Ch'ols use progress words, as monolingual speakers have not yet adopted these words as a part of their daily discourse.

Through this analysis, I have identified four words used throughout migration narratives that belong to this domain: /lograr/ 'to achieve', /mehoramiento/ 'improvement', /progesa/ 'progress', and /ini/, the acronym for the Instituto Nacional Indígena. The first three words refer to the ideology of progress that contact with governmental agencies that promote technological development and advancement has introduced to Ch'ol life. INI is the governmental agency with which politically active Ch'ols have the most contact and which represents indigenous interests to the national government. Since native Ch'ol equivalents for these terms do not exist, I suggest that in migration narratives, Ch'ol speakers use progress words as loans. However, because monolingual speakers do not yet use them, one cannot classify progress words as fully integrated loans. As a result, I argue these words actually represent a bridge between loanwords and code-switching. I propose that the increased importance of these words in Ch'ol life and their increased usage in Ch'ol discourse over time may result in the future total integration of these words as loanwords.

Loanwords vs. Code-switching: Identifying Code-switched Words and Phrases

By analyzing examples of code-switching and considering the speaker's bilingual ability, one can further identify the important differences between loanwords and code-switching. Code-switched words and phrases do not demonstrate assimilation or integration into the native phonological system; instead, they maintain their original phonology. Ch'ol speakers pronounce these words as they should be pronounced according to Spanish phonology, thereby marking a switch in codes. Code-switched words have not been syncretized linguistically, and they can be separated from the native lexicon and identified as distinct by the speakers themselves.

A speaker's bilingual ability strongly influences his use of code-switching. Bilingual speakers often code-switch when speaking to other bilinguals, or when the speech event requires them to demonstrate their bilingualism. This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that in order to code-switch, a speaker must be proficient in two or more languages. In this sample, only bilingual Ch'ols code-switched; monolingual Ch'ols and bilingual ladinos did not code-switch. Being proficient in both Spanish and Ch'ol allows bilingual Ch'ols to code-switch regularly and easily. The result of their frequent and intense contact with Mexican and ladino culture is that these speakers can express themselves freely and comfortably in both Spanish and Ch'ol. If these speakers have learned Spanish and Ch'ol simultaneously, or grew up speaking both languages, they may not make clear, cognitive distinctions between them, according to Weinreich's definition of compound bilingualism (1953:9-11).

Monolingual Ch'ols and bilingual ladinos did not code-switch in their migration narratives. Monolingual Ch'ol speakers have limited knowledge of Spanish and are not likely to code-switch. Spanish influence on their speech manifests itself exclusively in the use of loanwords. Speaker 1, the monolingual speaker included in this sample, experienced significantly less general Spanish interference than other speakers, exhibiting no code-switching and using only integrated loanwords. Bilingual ladinos also did not code-switch. Though they used integrated loanwords, code-switched words and phrases were not used in their narratives. Since Ch'ol is a second language for many ladinos, they experience coordinate bilingualism, as defined by Weinreich (1953:9-11), and

for this reason, maintain both languages as separate from one another, making a clear distinction between them. The fact that bilingual ladinos rarely code-switched may also be explained by considering prestige as a motivation for code-switching. If Ch'ol-Spanish code-switching is motivated by the desire to demonstrate proficiency in Spanish, the socially dominant language, in order to gain social status and prestige, it is logical to assume that bilinguals that are native Spanish speakers would not experience the same need to code-switch as bilingual Ch'ols.

Unlike loanwords, code-switched words do not demonstrate widespread usage and often have native Ch'ol equivalents. Code-switched words and phrases are not used by Ch'ol monolinguals, and occur infrequently in the speech of bilingual ladinos. Code-switched words are used on an individual basis in specific contexts. The use of code-switched words and phrases is not regular, and each usage is dependent on the speaker's preferences within that speech event or act. Code-switched words do not appear consistently in the speech of many Ch'ols, and are used exclusively in the speech of Ch'ol bilinguals. There is no specific pattern of usage that can be identified for individual Spanish words. Code-switched words and phrases in Spanish are often intermixed in the discourse of Ch'ol bilinguals, a flexibility of expression that allow speakers to communicate better. Code-switching may also occur as interference, as the result of the cognitive interference of the two languages in bilinguals. Ch'ol bilinguals often alternate freely between codes, as seen in the following example, where Speaker 5, a Ch'ol bilingual, code-switches, using non-assimilated Spanish words throughout his Ch'ol speech. To represent the change in codes, I have marked the Spanish phrases in italics, while the Ch'ol phrases are in regular print:

Lo que más jodido, cholero papá, cholero mamá; eso,
Lo ke mas jodido, cholero papa, cholero mama; 'eso,
Lo que mas jodido, cholero papa, cholero mama; 'eso,
What's more fucked up, his father [is a] Ch'ol speaker, his mother [is a] Ch'ol speaker,

'eso, muku ti chol yotot, chole häch, aha. Ejke medio ma'is tonto abla,
 'eso mu-ku-0 t'i chol y-ot'ot', chole häch, 'aha. Es ke medio ma'is tonto abla,
 'eso inc-vtr-B3 loc n 3s-n, n-diec adj, part. Es ke medio ma'is tonto abla,
that is, they speak Ch'ol at home, just Ch'ol, uhuh. (He) speaks really brokenly, (he)

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solo che bahche iši, iši *cabrón de, como se llama él, Mario de Roselita, este.*
solo che' bahche iši, iši *cabrón de, como se llama él, Mario de Roselita, este.*
adv adv-B3 adv part, part *cabrón de, como se llama él, Mario de Roselita, este.*
just talks like that, that asshole, what's his name, Mario de Roselita, that one.

These code-switched words and phrases do not demonstrate regular or widespread usage in Ch'ol discourse. They are used exclusively in the speech of this particular speaker and in this particular speech event based on the speaker's personal choices and to allow him to communicate more effectively or more rapidly.

Unlike loaned words, code-switched words and phrases frequently have native equivalents. Though the speaker may know the Ch'ol term, he chooses instead to use the Spanish word in the context of Ch'ol discourse and following Ch'ol grammar. When the speaker uses a word in one language or the other, he indicates a linguistic preference for the word of one language over that of the other during a particular speech event. For example, though the Ch'ol word for shoe is /šāñābāl/ or /patz'/, Speaker 5 uses the Spanish word /sapato/:

Este...mik mahlel tʸi cholel, mañik zapato, kok.

Este... mi k-mahlel tʸi cholel, mañik sapato, kok.

Este...inc A1-vin-inc loc n, neg sapato, n

Well... I went to the cornfield, without shoes, on foot.

The use of most Spanish words that have Ch'ol equivalents should be considered code-switching, with the exception of function words and words pertaining to daily and domestic life, as I have just discussed, since these words represent a switch from the lexicon of one language to that of another.

Discussion

On the most basic level, inserted code-switched words and phrases are distinguished from loanwords on the basis of assimilation: code-switched words and phrases do not demonstrate significant phonological or morphophonemic assimilation or widespread usage by speakers with varying levels of bilingualism. Loanwords rarely have native equivalents, and often are terms that refer to technologies or items of material culture that were introduced to Ch'ol life through contact with Spanish

culture. Although they both occur through the process of insertion (Muysken 2000), code-switched words and phrases, contrary to loanwords, demonstrate no phonological assimilation and integration into the native Ch'ol lexicon, and are used almost exclusively by bilingual Ch'ols.

Having established that loanwords become integrated parts of native lexicons, I argue that lexical borrowing in Ch'ol is the direct result of intense and prolonged contact with the Spanish language since the colonial period, and with both local ladino culture and the national culture promoted by the Mexican government. The introduction of new items of material culture and new ideologies during the contact period and throughout Mexican history has influenced the Ch'ols both culturally and linguistically, since the incorporation of new items in Ch'ol life creates a need for new vocabulary. I suggest that other loans, such as function words, discourse markers, and other domestic terms, may have been initially used during the contact period as intrasentential code-switching to enhance speaker's personal status by demonstrating knowledge of the dominant language, Spanish.

I propose that all loanwords begin as a form of intrasentential code-switching. This phenomenon is noted in the use of Spanish "Progress Words." These words are presently in a liminal state; although they have begun to be incorporated into Ch'ol as they are regularly used by Ch'ol bilinguals, they have not yet become fully integrated loanwords, since they are used exclusively by bilingual speakers and have not yet been adopted by monolingual Ch'ols. Over time, however, as their use becomes more widespread, they will become an integrated part of the Ch'ol lexicon. Monolingual speakers will learn them and use them as a result of their increasing importance in Ch'ol life and their frequent occurrence in the speech of bilinguals.

It has been proposed that loaned words always first occur as insertions, learned by bilingual speakers who then teach them to monolingual speakers (Poplack and Sankoff, 1984:101; Fries and Pike, 1949:39). Borrowed words are transmitted when a bilingual speaker uses them in conversation with a monolingual speaker. The monolingual speaker may then adopt these innovations, and begin to use them himself. I suggest that it is at the moment that monolingual speakers begin using borrowed words that they become loanwords and demonstrate lexical integration. Phonological assimilation and the shift from Spanish pho-

nology to Ch'ol phonology correspond to the integration of these words into Ch'ol lexicon, and this occurs when monolinguals begin to use these words, since monolingual speakers are not able to imitate the Spanish pronunciation of borrowed words as well as bilinguals. It is also during this process of integration and assimilation that loanwords transform to become "native" terms, losing cultural and linguistic associations with their original languages and thereby demonstrating linguistic syncretism. At this point, loanwords are no longer Spanish words, but rather become Ch'ol terms, and are recognized as such by Ch'ol speakers.

As Myers-Scotton (1982) suggests, code-switching may be situationally motivated, depending on the participants involved in the speech event as well as on the context of the speech event itself. Ch'ol-Spanish code-switching may be a conscious and rational choice that speakers make when speaking to other bilinguals in order to demonstrate linguistic solidarity (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai, 2001:5). The extent of code-switching that one engages in may also be motivated by the speech event itself. At community events where Ch'ols promote their Ch'ol identity, they may be less likely to code-switch than they would be in meetings with governmental agencies, or when talking with bilingual friends and family members. This phenomenon is explained by considering the value associated with speaking Spanish, the socially dominant language. Ch'ols may be more likely to code-switch in situations of contact with representatives of the Mexican government or with other native Spanish speakers in order to gain status from their use of Spanish.

The use of code-switching in this sample may also be dependent on the context in which these narratives were recorded. Since these narratives were given in a formal interview setting, they represent elicited, and not natural, speech (Labov, 1972). The formal nature of the interview setting and the presence of "outgroup" members during the speech event may have influenced the use of code-switching in these narratives, and for this reason, the use of code-switching in this sample may not be reflective of natural speech. Speakers may exhibit less code-switching in natural speech or when speaking to Ch'ols or other "ingroup" members. This problem may be overcome by using exclusively in-group interviewers during future fieldwork.

I also propose that the high degree of code-switching used by the bilingual speakers in this sample is directly related to the topics they were asked to discuss. Since speakers were asked to tell about their own

lives, the fact that they have had extensive contact with Spanish language and ladino cultural institutions motivated them to use more Spanish when presenting their life histories. I do not suggest that this action was a conscious choice by the speakers, but that the subject matter of the narratives lends itself to frequent code-switching between Ch'ol and Spanish.

A speaker's tendency to code-switch is strongly influenced by the extent and intensity of his contact with the Spanish language and with both local ladino and Mexican national culture. Though all of the Ch'ol bilinguals included in this sample code-switched, the individuals who code-switched more frequently have experienced more contact with ladino culture, or the culture of mestizo populations living in large towns or small cities, or national culture, the culture promoted by the national government, code-switched more frequently. Ch'ol speakers experiencing little outside contact code-switched less frequently than those who have had prolonged contact with Spanish and ladino or national culture. Frequent and intense contact with ladino and national culture not only increases the speaker's exposure to bilingualism, but also causes the speaker to need to use Spanish more regularly and in more situational contexts. Contrary to the Ch'ol bilinguals, both bilingual ladinos interviewed demonstrated little code-switching. This phenomenon may be explained by the fact that ladinos are not motivated by the prestige associated with Spanish, the dominant language. Future research on the use of code-switching in bilingual ladinos, however, may further illuminate this issue and provide more viable explanations for the absence of code-switching in the discourse of these individuals.

Two of the six Ch'ol bilinguals included in my study exhibited significantly more code-switching in their migration narratives than the other speakers, demonstrating markedly higher degrees of language interference. Their life histories reveal that these speakers have had extensive contact with both ladino and national culture, and as a result, have had more experience speaking Spanish than other Ch'ol bilinguals. I argue that the high levels of code-switching used by these individuals may represent emerging changes in their cultural and linguistic identity.

Speaker 5, a 65 year-old man from the ejido of La Cascada, Chiapas, used assimilated loans more frequently than other speakers, and relied heavily on the use of function words and discourse markers borrowed from Spanish. While he did know Ch'ol numbers, he did not use them

except when specifically asked to count in Ch'ol. This speaker manifested numerous instances of both intersentential and intrasentential code-switching in his speech. In addition to interjecting Spanish words in Ch'ol speech, this speaker often switched codes in mid-sentence, mixing Spanish and Ch'ol without any clear indication that he was switching from one language to the other, an action that may indicate that the switch was not always a conscious choice.

One must consider why Speaker 5 code-switched more frequently than others. His heavy use of code-switching may be explained by the fact that though he lives in a predominantly Ch'ol ejido, he is currently married to a ladina woman who did not speak Ch'ol when they met. She speaks Ch'ol now, but does not speak it with the proficiency of a native. Most of his children and grandchildren do not speak fluent Ch'ol, and as a result, this speaker must use Spanish to communicate with the majority of his own family. I suggest that his use of code-switching is more than mere habit, but reflects changes in his self-perception and linguistic identity, as his life has been strongly molded by ladino culture.

Speaker 7 also code-switched more frequently than other speakers throughout her narrative. This speaker, a 24 year-old woman who currently resides in the town of Tumbalá in the Chiapas highlands, has had extensive contact with ladino and national culture throughout her life. Both intersentential and intrasentential switching were used in her narrative. This speaker used intrasentential switching to fill in words that she did not know in Ch'ol. One interesting aspect of this speaker's code-switching behavior is seen in reported speech. Throughout her narrative, she reported the speech of others. While reported quotations represent the actual speech act they are relating, they are not necessarily exact representations of the actual utterances of the act, as Koven (2001:517) and many others have pointed out. Even though the phrases this speaker quoted may have been spoken originally in Ch'ol, she always switched to Spanish when reproducing them. This action may indicate that the speaker does not make a conscious distinction between Spanish and Ch'ol when relaying the speech of others, or that she is not aware of the language in which the original utterance was made.

Though Speaker 7 was born in Emiliano Zapata, a small Ch'ol ejido near Tumbalá, she has not lived a "traditional" Ch'ol life. At ten years old, she left home to go to school in Tila, the other large Ch'ol town in the Chiapas highlands. After finishing *preparatoria* (the equivalent of

high school) there, she returned briefly to Tumbalá before moving to San Cristóbal de las Casas, the large ladino regional center for highland Chiapas, where she lived and studied for several years. Since San Cristóbal is a Spanish-speaking town, Speaker 7 had considerable exposure to both the Spanish language and ladino culture. This speaker has now returned to Tumbalá, where she works as the personal secretary of the *presidente municipal*, the mayor. Although Tumbalá is a Ch'ol town, her work with the government gives her regular exposure to national culture. In recent years, she has written several poems, four of which were published in the 1999 book, *Palabra Conjurada*, or *Conjured Word* (López K'ana et al., 1999). The poems in this book are published in Ch'ol and Spanish, though they follow Spanish poetic norms rather than traditional Ch'ol discourse structure. This speaker also told me that she writes her poems in Spanish first, and later translates them to Ch'ol.

The extensive contact that both Speaker 5 and Speaker 7 have had with ladino and national culture has influenced both their ethnic and linguistic identities. Though Speaker 5 ethnically identifies himself as a Ch'ol, his linguistic identity is strongly affected by the fact that he speaks Spanish regularly with members of his family, many of who do not speak Ch'ol. For this reason, Spanish has become a part of his daily life, as has ladino culture, since his wife is ladina. His free alternation between both Spanish and Ch'ol demonstrates that these factors have strongly affected this speaker. He has experienced changes to his linguistic identity, and no longer identifies himself as solely a Ch'ol speaker. Speaker 7 has also been affected by intensive contact with ladino and national culture, experiencing changes to both her ethnic and linguistic identity. Her work with the government and the fact that she lived and studied in San Cristóbal, a non-indigenous town populated mostly by ladinos and a center of ladino culture, have created changes in both her cultural and linguistic identity. Both national and ladino culture as well as the Spanish language have become defining aspects of this speaker's life, and her frequent use of code-switching indicates that her linguistic identity is constructed through knowledge of both Spanish and Ch'ol. I suggest that for these two speakers, the high levels of code-switching may be indicative of an emerging dual ethnic and linguistic identity, constructed of elements from both Ch'ol and local ladino culture. Since I base these arguments on the preliminary analysis of a limited data sample, I will conduct additional research on language contact

through extensive interviews on language choice in order to determine speakers' attitudes towards Ch'ol and Spanish during future extended fieldwork in this region.

Conclusions

Two types of language interference, loanwords and code-switching, have recently been the subject of considerable discussion and research as the result of increased interest in bilingualism. The exact distinction between loanwords and code-switching, however, has remained undefined. My preliminary analysis of lexical borrowing and language interference in Ch'ol has provided insights into the differences between loanwords and code-switching. Intensive language contact between Spanish and Ch'ol has led to extensive influence on Ch'ol. This influence manifests itself in both lexical borrowing and code-switching. Lexical borrowing is present in the speech of all Ch'ol speakers because many Spanish loanwords have become integrated into the Ch'ol lexicon. Code-switching, however, occurs only in the speech of Ch'ol bilinguals.

The study of linguistic integration and language interference in Ch'ol suggests that the key to separating loanwords from code-switching is understanding the process of linguistic assimilation that occurs as the result of language contact. Integration, or lexical borrowing, refers to Spanish words that have been borrowed by Ch'ol, and that have become assimilated into the Ch'ol lexicon, as demonstrated through their incorporation into the native phonological system and their widespread usage throughout the speech of both monolingual and bilingual Ch'ols. Most loanwords of Spanish origin are words that have no Ch'ol translations; those with Ch'ol equivalents were initially adopted to gain status and prestige, and have become integrated over time as synonyms or with slightly altered meanings or functions, as is the case with the Spanish verb *pensar*, which takes on a new meaning in Ch'ol. I propose that all assimilated loanwords were first used in Ch'ol in intrasentential code-switching, and that over time, they were adopted into the Ch'ol lexicon because of their utility and frequent use in daily life. During the process of integration, loanwords become Ch'ol terms, and are no longer identified by speakers as Spanish words.

Code-switching is dependent on the bilingual ability of the speaker and is marked by the absence of phonological and lexical assimilation. Code-switching includes words and phrases that have not become native

items, and represents a more or less conscious switch from one language to another, dependent on situational context. Ch'ols who have experienced the most frequent and most intense contact with both national and ladino culture and the Spanish language exhibit the highest degree of code-switching. Two Ch'ol bilinguals exhibited higher degrees of code-switching than the other Ch'ol bilinguals, a phenomenon that is explained by the fact that, individually, they have had higher degrees of exposure to both national and ladino culture throughout their lives. These individuals switched freely between Spanish and Ch'ol when telling their life histories. Analysis of code-switching in these individuals suggests an emerging dual cultural and linguistic identity, composed of elements of both Ch'ol and national culture.

I suggest that the use of code-switching in Ch'ol is inextricably related to degree of contact with the Spanish language and with ladino and national culture. Future studies of code-switching should focus on determining the relationship between code-switching and identity, and how code-switching reflects changes in a speaker's ethnic and linguistic identities. Distinguishing lexical integration from code-switching in the speech of bilingual speakers will allow us to continue exploring the relationship between language and culture and to determine the extent to which situations of language and culture contact influence native peoples, not only in Mesoamerica, but across the world.

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Endnotes

1. Since the data sample we collected in Mexico was limited as a result of the short duration of our field stay, I will further examine language interference and language contact phenomena in the speech of Ch'ol monolinguals during future linguistic fieldwork in this region.
2. In Ch'ol, /h/ represents a voiceless vocoid (Koob 1979:54).

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3. Used to represent the orthographic *j* following Barrutia and Schwegler's (1994) model.
4. Many early Spanish loans were integrated into Ch'ol in their plural form. For example the word /baka/ 'cow' was loaned as the plural /wakaš/.
5. The shift from /t/ to palatalized /tʲ/ occurs exclusively in Ch'ol. Since it is not present in other Ch'olan languages, it is regarded as a late innovation that entered Ch'ol after the end of the Classic Maya Period. Today, this innovation has been dropped from the pronunciation of new Ch'ol words. For this reason, /t/ often assimilates to /tʲ/ in early loans, while recent loans do not demonstrate assimilation to /tʲ/ and use /t/.

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